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MESSIANIC PROPHECIES.

Jas P. Sheraton

MESSIANIC PROPHECIES.

LECTURES

BY

FRANZ DELITZSCH,
PROFESSOR OF THEOLOGY, LEIPZIG.

TRANSLATED
FROM THE MANUSCRIPT

BY

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS
PROFESSOR IN CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL
SEMINARY.

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TO

E. W. BLATCHFORD, ESQ.,

PRESIDENT OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS, CHICAGO THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY,

THIS TRANSLATION IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED
AS A TRIBUTE OF PERSONAL ESTEEM.

AUTHOR'S PREFACE.

When, at the earnest solicitation of my friend Professor Curtiss, I consented that he should translate my lectures on the Messianic Prophecies, held in the Winter of 1879—1880, as a basis for his instruction, I was compelled to refer him to the notes of one of my students, since the course received its present form in the process of delivery. Hence I beg those, into whose hands these pages may fall, to remember that much bears the accidental impress of the moment and that the whole is only made public at the urgent request of a friend.

Leipzig, July 10, 1880.

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE.

This translation has arisen from a desire to furnish my students with a good hand-book for the study of the Messianic Prophecies. During the few weeks, at command for translation and printing, my attention was directed rather to a careful reproduction of the thought than to rhetorical finish. While the last sheet was being prepared for the press it was suggested that it might be well to give this work a wider circulation than was at first contemplated, I trust therefore that critics will generously forgive any infelicities of style or inaccuracies of expression. It is hoped that students of the Bible may derive great profit from these lectures, which Professor Delitzsch, after much persuasion, has so kindly surrendered for the use of his many friends.

Leipzig, July 10, 1880.

SAMUEL IVES CURTISS.

CORRECTIONS.

The commencement of § 27, p. 55, is misleading because the word "period" is used instead of epoch. Prof. Delitzsch distinguishes four epochs in the fifth period of Israelitish history (975—588 B. C.):

(1) from the contemporaneous reigns of Rehoboam and Jeroboam to the contemporaneous reigns of Asa and Ahab (975—915 B. C.);

(2) from the contemporaneous reigns of Jehoshaphat and Ahab to those of Amaziah and Jeroboam II (914—811 B. C.);

(3) from the contemporaneous reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II to the fall of the kingdom of Israel (810—722 B. C.);

(4) from the fall of the kingdom of Israel to that of Judah (721—588 B. C.).

The first two sentences in § 27 should accordingly read: The first *epoch* was formed by the division of the kingdom. At the very beginning of the second *epoch* etc.

Page 3, fifteenth line from below, read Micah instead of Micha;

21, ninth line from below, read Solomon instead of Salomon;

59, seventh line from the top, read Luke instead of Luc.

It is to be regretted that some of the Hebrew points have been broken off in printing the following words: 2, seventh line from below אֱלֹהִים; 7, last line כֹּהֵן; 12 (13), last line נְבִיאִים; 51, last line, § 23, verb עָבַת; 53, fourth line from the top, מַלְאָךְ; 58, twelfth line from the top, בָּנֵיכֶם; 65, thirteenth line from below, פֶּלֶא; 76. last line, § 45, עֲנָנִי.

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INTRODUCTION.

§ 1.

The names Messiah and Christ.

Messianic prophecies, in the most common acceptation of the term, are such as connect the hope of salvation and the glory of God's people with an ideal king, who, originating in Israel is to rule the world. This king is as such divinely anointed, but this attribute does not become a distinctive designation in the Old Testament. First in the doctrinal language of post-biblical Judaism he is called almost with the significance of a proper name מָשִׁיחַ, Greek Μεσσίας, which follows the Aramaic form מְשִׁיחָא. The fundamental passage for this designation of the king of the final period is Ps. II, 2. There is no Old Testament passage in which מָשִׁיחַ indisputably indicates the future king with eschatological exclusiveness. The name Χριστός is the translation of מָשִׁיחַ, but although it corresponds to it verbally, yet it is not really coextensive, for in the designation of Jesus as the Christ the idea of king is relieved of its one-sidedness. The ideas of the superhuman deity and of the prophet of the kingdom of heaven, and of the priest by reason of the sacrifice of himself, are combined in this name with the idea of the royal dignity. With it is united the representation of one triply anointed to a threefold office.

Rem. 1. In the Old Testament David, 2 Sam. XXIII, 1. and the king of the house of David are called מָשִׁיחַ. In other passages it may be questioned whether the name is eschatologically intended Hab. III, 18; Ps. CXXXII, 17; in still other passages the Messiah is at least indirectly intended, since the name indicates a king, who realizes the idea of the king of Israel 1 Sam. II, 10. 35. Only in Ps. II, 2 can there be scarcely any doubt about the eschatological meaning. Perhaps in Dan. IX, 25 מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד indicates the future One as high priest and king in one person. On the other hand in ver. 26 מָשִׁיחַ is not the king Messiah, but either Seleucus IV Philopator, (d. 175 B. C.) compare Dan. XI,

or Onias III (d. 171 B. C.) the high priest, after whose fall Antiochus Epiphanes plundered the temple. Probably the latter is intended, for Seleucus IV Philopator would hardly be called by the prophet מָשִׁיחַ as Cyrus was by Deutero-Isaiah.

Rem. 2. De Lagarde holds that Μεσσίας is the Greek form of מָשִׁיחַ, a transjordanico-Arabic nominal form like עֻשַּׂר for עָשָׂר. It is however the Greek form of מְשִׁיחָא; the ח remaining unexpressed between the two long vowels as in μιδα = מְחִירָא Neh. VII, 54, and Μεσίας or Μεσσίας was written like Ἀβεσαλώμ or Ἀβεσσαλώμ, since through duplication greater stability was given to the short vowel.

§ 2.

Messianic and Christological Elements.

Even within the Old Testament itself the royal image of the future divinely anointed One is proved to be incomplete, since it is neither coextensive with the needs, nor exhausts the expectations of salvation. But besides this, since the idea of the future God-man at first comes to view only in occasional glimpses, the Man of Salvation does not yet occupy a central position in Old Testament faith, but the completion of the kingdom of God frequently appears, with the recession of human instrumentality, as the proper work of the God of Salvation. But we include even this kind of prophecies under the Messianic classification, because, as the New Testament fulfilment shows, it is God in Christ, who, starting from Israel, secures for the human race and offers to it the highest spiritual blessings. Even the prophecies of the final and essential salvation, which are silent respecting the Messiah, are christological when viewed in their historical fulfilment.

Rem. 1. Within the course of the evangelical history the Lord is called Jesus. First after he has proved to be the Messiah, who was foretold in the Old Testament, Acts II, 36, he receives in addition to the proper name Jesus the designation of honor, which has likewise become a proper name, Christ. Within the gospels, except in John I, 17; XVII, 3, this double designation only occurs in Matt. I, 1. 18 (only here τοῦ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ); Mark I, 1. The evangelists write this double designation over the gates of their gospels like an anagram or emblem of the entire following history, with a similar signification as the Tora prefixes the double designation יְהוָה אֱלֹהִים to Gen. II—III.

Rem. 2. The accumulation of the names Jesus Christ, Christ Jesus, or merely Christ, rarely Jesus, in the apostolic epistles, e. g. in the beginning of the epistle to the Colossians is remarkable. It is the transcendent love of the Lord which is mirrored in this cumulative designation, and we feel thoroughly, that the name Christ is not equivalent to the conception of the king, but that the Lord is thus named as the One, in whom all God's promises have become

yea and amen, 2 Cor. I, 20. Even in the language of the synagogue מָשִׁיחַ signifies more than מֶלֶךְ. It is the name of the coming One (ὁ μέλλων), for which reason the designation of the king is indicated by מַלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא.

§ 3.

Historical Sketch.

The New Testament references to Old Testament prophecies are limited by the occasions afforded in the gospel history, and the apostolic trains of thought. Hence it has come to pass that many Messianic passages of prime importance have remained unnoticed, e. g. Is. IX, 5—6; Jer. XXIII, 5—6; Zech. VI, 12—13. A richer, and to a certain extent, more systematic discussion of the predictions and representations concerning Christ in the Old Testament, begins with the epistle of Barnabas (71—120 A. D.) which is related to the epistle to the Hebrews, but which stands far below it, and in Justin's Dialogue with Trypho (about 148 A. D.), who is in so far inferior to his Jewish opponent, that he is acquainted with the Old Testament only through the secondary source of the Septuagint and puts the apocryphal on the same footing with the canonical (compare Ps. XCVI, 10 ἀπὸ ξύλου). Origen (d. 254) was acquainted with Hebrew, but his interpretation of the Scriptures suffers from his effort at that arbitrary allegorization, in which the Alexandrian School is the succesor of Philo. On the other hand the historical method of the Antiochian School brought about a reaction, which even referred direct Messianic prophecies like Micha V, 1 to Zerubbabel and in general to objects before Christ, and only, with reference to the result of their higher fulfilment, to Christ. It was not taken into account by the ancient church, down to the time of the Middle Ages, that there is in the Old Testament a preparation for the salvation in Christ through a connected and progressive history. Nor was it taken into account in the time of the Reformation, when the predominantly apologetic interest of the ancient church was replaced by one which was predominantly dogmatic, and a spiritualistic interpretation took the place of an allegorical, which removed the national elements of the old prophecy by means of a symbolical or a mystical interpretation. First Spener (d. 1705) and his school made way for a better understanding of the prophecies, while he with reference to Rom. XI, 25—26, recognized that which is relatively authorized in the national form of

the Old Testament prophecy. John Albert Bengel (d. 1752) and Christian Augustus Crusius (d. 1775) began to modify the stiff idea of inspiration, since they regarded the prophets not only as passive, but also at the same time as active instruments, and placed their range of view under the law of perspective. With Cocceius (d. 1669) began the method of treating the Old Testament in periods. But they were not able to divide this history into periods according to its internal development, in which chance and plan, freedom and necessity interpenetrate. When then rationalism degraded Jesus to a teacher of religion and morals, the Messianic prophecies of the Old Testament became almost entirely without an object, until the gradual unfolding of the idea of the Messiah was recognized in them, and, as there was a return from a merely nominal Christianity to that of the apostles, the gradual subjective preparation of the essential salvation was perceived. This revolution was established by Hengstenberg's (d. 1869) *Christologie des A. T.* (in three volumes, Berlin 1829—1835, second edition 1854—1857), which formed a new epoch in the treatment of the subject, followed in a spirit of freer criticism by Tholuck's (d. 1877) work: *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen*, Gotha 1860, and the articles *Messias* and *Weissagung* by Oehler (d. 1872) in the first edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, vols. IX Stuttgart 1858, and XVII Gotha 1863. Hofmann's (d. 1877) work, entitled *Weissagung und Erfüllung*, in two parts, Nördlingen 1841—1844, is far more systematic. The Old Testament history is here reconstructed as an organic whole, developed in word and deed until the time of Christ, with which the history of the fulfilment, as the other half, reaching to the end of the present dispensation, is joined together. Many views of truth which have come into the modern scriptural theology, have sprung from this original work, whose main fault is the straining of the type at expense of the prophecy. Bertheau's lengthy article, *Die alttestamentliche Weissagung von Israel's Reichsherrlichkeit in seinem Lande* in the fourth volume of the *Jahrbücher für deutsche Theologie*, Gotha 1859, is intended to distinguish between that which is particularly national and that which is truly divine respecting the glory of Israel's kingdom in their own land. Riehm's valuable work, which is from a more decidedly supernaturalistic standpoint, *Die Messianische Weissagung*, Gotha 1875, is written from a similar point of view, but in its antijudaistic tendency it has almost returned to the antiquated mode of spiritualising Scripture. The rationalistic stand-

point, in which the historical method is carried out, is represented by Stähelin's work, *Die Messianischen Weissagungen*, Berlin 1847, Anger's lectures published after his death (d. 1866) *Ueber die Geschichte der Messianischen Idee*, Berlin 1873, and Kuenen's extensive work, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, London 1877, which regards ethical monotheism, as the kernel of prophecy, and in this sense Jesus as the greatest prophet, according to which view Christianity and Judaism, the church and the synagogue may be easily blended together.

Remark. A work which is entirely in sympathy with us is Kueper's *Das Prophetenthum des Alten Bundes, übersichtlich dargestellt*, Leipzig 1870. A sketch of the history of the interpretation of Old Testament prophecy may be found in Oehler's article entitled *Weissagung* in the first edition of Herzog's *Real-Encyklopädie*, and its progress since Bengel is given in Delitzsch' work *Die biblisch-prophetische Theologie, ihre Fortbildung durch Chr. A. Crusius und ihre neueste Entwickelung seit der Christologie Hengstenberg's*, Berlin 1845. Many materials, bearing upon the subject are afforded in Diestel's (d. 1879) *Geschichte des Alten Testaments in der christlichen Kirche*, Jena 1869.

FIRST PART.

FOUNDATION.

CHAPTER I.

Definition and Name of the Biblical Prophets.

§ 1.

Intercourse of Man with God.

If there is really a difference between the absolute God, and all other rational created beings, then the history of finite and personal beings can have no other true and ultimate goal than an ever deeper entrance into a living fellowship with God. But a continuance in such fellowship without actual intercourse between God and his intelligent creatures is inconceivable. It must therefore be possible, and can be proved as actual, that God and men can speak with, and work upon one another. That such a divinely ordained interchange actually exists necessarily follows from the universal impulse of men to pray, and the truth and reality of this interchange is proved by christian experience in prayer, by the testimony of the Spirit which seals the saving truth to those who submit themselves to the way of God's grace, and by the admonishing, warning, comforting voices which we experience.

Rem. 1. Compare Riehm, *Messianische Weissagung*, Gotha 1875. p. 23 etc. The common word for answer to prayer, as well as for revelation to the prophets is עָנָה e. g. Jerem. XXXIII, 3.

Rem. 2. The answers to prayer and the cognitions which break through our natural series of conceptions, as well as divine impulses, intimations, and consolations belong in their final analysis to the realm of the miraculous, for the essential characteristic of the miraculous is not in its being contrary to nature, but in the interference of the power of freedom in the natural connection of cause and effect. The opponents of the miraculous are consequently also opponents of the efficacy of prayer.

§ 2.

Man as Priest and Prophet.

Moreover it is the divine order, that under certain circumstances God should reveal his will mediately to men, for man is not only a person but also a being which belongs to a species. It is the divine order that God should allow himself to be moved to a helping love, through the intercession of a love which seeks to help the brother. It is therefore his ordinance, that a man should be the prophet and priest of others. The prophetic and the priestly office have a common human stock in the creative order of the world. For this reason therefore the prophetic and the priestly office are not exclusively Israelitic, although nowhere so distinguished and conditioned as in Israel.

Remark. Only in Israel did the prophetic office maintain a free and independent position with reference to the ceremonially legal priesthood. Everywhere else they are united as among the Brahmins of India, the Shamans of the Mongolians, the Druids of the Celts, and also among the Chaldeans; compare Lenormant, *Die Magie und Wahrsagerkunst der Chaldäer*, Jena 1878.

§ 3.

The Priestly People of Revelation.

As God makes man the medium of the revelation of Himself for others, so, when there was danger that the knowledge of the divine being and will would be extinguished, he made one nation the medium of the revelation of Himself and of the call of His redeeming love for the nations of the world. This people is Israel, the people of positive revelation (Rom. III, 2; IX, 4), the kingdom of priests (Ex. XIX, 6).

Remark. The supposed contradiction between Jehovah as God of the universe and as a national God, which is urged by Hegel, Anger, and Kuenen (Yaveh and the other Gods in the *Theological Review*, London 1876) disappears, when we consider this that when Israel called Jehovah his God, it was not an arbitrary national representation, but a pedagogical arrangement made by God. The divine decree of salvation demanded this particularism as a preliminary stage to a universalism.

§ 4.

The Mediatorial Character of the Prophet.

The idea of the prophet is therefore originally mediatorial. A priest (כֹּהֵן) is to a certain extent one who offers himself to God,

but no one is prophet with reference to himself. This idea lies even in the name, for נָבִיא is not a passive name in the sense of one to whom a revelation is vouchsafed, but an intensive active noun, which indicates the professional announcer, as προφήτης does not signify a foreteller, *qui praefatur*, but a proclaimer, *qui profatur*. The word נָבָא, rad. נב indicates speech which comes and bursts forth from within. The speaker presupposes the hearer, hence the prophet as such is a mediator of a divine revelation to others.

Rem. 1. The opinion of Land (*Theologische Tijdschrift*, Leiden, II, 191) which is also approved by Kuenen, and in which he follows Sprenger (*Leben Mohammed's* vol. I. — 1861, p. 265), that כֹּהֵן Arabic *kâhin* originally signified soothsayer, is without weight. The verb כָּהַן is related secondarily to כּוּן to stand, כֹּהֵן is the one who stands and so the one who officiates, Hebr. X, 11 ἕστηκεν, according to a principle derived from Deuteronomy XVIII, 1 that every priestly office is performed by standing (אֵרֶן שֵׁרוּת אֶלָּא מְיֻעָמָד), compare Buxtorfii *Lexicon Chaldaicum, Talmudicum et Rabbinicum*, Basileae 1540, col. 2534. Schultz (*Alttestamentliche Theologie*, 2nd ed., Frankfurt on the Main 1878, p. 369) explains it as the one who prepares [the offering]. The word כּוּן, as primitive, either signifies to stand, or in the sense of the Hiphil is הֵכִין to prepare. But the first signification in this participial name is most probable.

Rem. 2. The verb נָבָא does not signifiy to speak softly, hollowly, secretly as Riehm p. 21, and Schultz p. 215 maintain in agreement with Hupfeld, nor does it signify to speak with animation, or with deep excitement as Anger, p. 8, Kuenen (*The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, London 1877, p. 42) hold, but as Fleischer (in Delitzsch' *Genesis*, 4th ed., Leipzig 1872, p. 551—553) has proved נָבָא did not signify anything further originally than to raise oneself, to ascend, to become audible. It is perhaps the same word as that from which in the Babylonio-Assyrian the god Nabu (biblical נְבוֹ) has received his name as the messenger of the Gods. The form קָטִיל as a more intensive form than קָטֵל includes the accompanying idea of habitual activity or the permanent possession of a quality hence נָבִיא is the speaker by profession. The word does not signify anything else than the speaker, but as רֹאֶה in itself denotes the seer in the sense of one seeing clearly (*clairvoyant*), so נָבִיא signifies the speaker in the sense of an inspired, divinely filled speaker. The Niphal נִבָּא and the Hithpael הִתְנַבֵּא are denominatives, signifying to demean, or exercise oneself as a prophet.

§ 5.

The Patriarchs as Priests.

Hence the name נָבִיא implies mediation, but it does not originally indicate a class with the duty of public proclamation. Before Israel became a state the gift and profession of the נָבִיא as well as that of the כֹּהֵן was especially connected with the head of the holy family which was to become the medium, and the birth-

place of the people of divine revelation. Abraham first exercised this prophetic office (Gen. XX, 7, compare XVIII, 19). The prophetic blessings of Isaac and Jacob show that like him they possessed the prophetic gift and calling. Hence the patriarchal family which makes its pilgrimages from place to place is called a race of kings and prophets (Ps. CV, 15).

Remark. Whoever has received the knowledge of God's decree and will, and makes it known to another, stands to that other in the relation of a prophet. Such was the relation of Abraham to his family, and of Aaron to Israel and Pharaoh (Ex. VII, 1—2; IV, 15—16) according to which Moses as Elohim is related to Aaron as prophet, or God's organ, for the prophet according to Jer. XV, 19, is God's mouth. The case however is different with the priest (כֹּהֵן). The patriarchs maintained the family worship, and brought the family offerings, but no one was called priest (כֹּהֵן), like Melchizedek, for כֹּהֵן is the name of a class, while נָבִיא from the outset indicates only a calling and endowment.

§ 6.

Special Calling of the Prophet.

In a wider sense indeed a prophet is one, who receives and records divine relations, like David and Daniel (Acts II, 30; Matt. XXIV, 15) and like John in the New Testament Apocalypse, but in the proper sense neither a seer (רֹאֶה 1 Sam. IX, 9), nor a beholder (חוֹזֶה) as such is called a prophet, but only one, who, through proclamation of that which he has seen, works upon the life of the people, and the congregation. The calling of a prophet is that of a preacher or pastor, with reference to the congregation as a whole and its individual members, but is distinct from our modern ideas with reference to the calling as thus explained, in his drawing directly from divine revelation.

Remark. The signification of נָבִיא as indicating a class, which the word received at a later period, is indicated in the confession of Amos (VII, 14). He is a prophet, for he has been called by God to the public office of preaching, and yet he is not a prophet, in the sense of having received an education at one of the Ephraimitic schools, where young men were prepared for the prophetic office as a profession.

CHAPTER II.

Sphere and Position of the Prophets.

§ 7.

Difference between the Prophetic and Priestly Office.

The prophetic office of instruction is essentially different from that of the priestly (Mal. II, 7) which was confined to the teaching of the laws of the Tora, and to their casuistical application to ritualistic and legal questions (Lev. X, 11; Deut. XXXIII, 9. 10; XXIV, 8; Hag. II, 11; Ezek. XLIV, 23. 24), according to which we must presuppose that codex and tradition had been perpetuated within the priesthood. This supposition is confirmed by Deut. XVII, 19, compare XXXI, 9. When therefore we see priests appear as prophets, like Jeremiah, Ezekiel, and the two Zechariahs, or even Levites, like Hanan (Jer. XXXV, 4), and probably Habakkuk it is quite likely that their priestly and Levitical training afforded a fitting reason for the divine call, but the prophetic office in every age was radically distinguished from the priestly.

Remark. Preaching never had a place in temple worship, in which only certain passages from the Scriptures were occasionally read. Not until after the Babylonian exile was it introduced as a part of the divine service in the synagogues. Compare Zunz, *Die gottesdienstlichen Vorträge der Juden*, Berlin 1832.

§ 8.

The Prophets as Guardians of the Spirit of the Law.

While the calling of the priest seeks to realize the letter of the law, that of the prophet endeavours to realize its spirit. The prophets in general demand obedience to God's will as revealed in his laws, and are fond of emphasizing the pre-Mosaic and decalogic command respecting the observance of the Sabbath, but Malachi's censure with reference to the malobservance of the sacrificial Tora (I, 10 etc.) stands absolutely alone. In every case the exhortations of the prophets do not refer to the externals, but to the substance of the law. They are zealous against the heartless and spiritless *opus operatum* of dead works. With biting sarcasm they depreciate ceremonial sacrifice and fasting (Hosea VI, 6; Jer. VII, 21—23; Joel II, 13; Is. LVIII). In brief the priest is the guardian of the external letter of the law, and the prophet of its internal, spiritual fulfilment.

Remark. In this insistance upon the kernel of the law the prophets are agreed. Duhm in his *Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn 1875, does not recognize this unity, since he assigns to the prophets different degrees of freedom and legality. In his opinion the spiritually free and moral tendency rises until Jeremiah and Deutero-Isaiah, the legally external finds its depth in Ezekiel and Malachi, where even the air of Judaism and the Talmud is perceptible. The fundamental error of Duhm consists in his laying such emphasis on religion as an inner life, that he regards all external forms which are necessary for its expression as a deterioration into formalism. But religion and sacred rites are indissolubly correlated. Even the religion of the individual cannot dispense with forms, for instance prayer when it leaves the sphere of secret and merely internal meditation. Much less can the religion of a community be maintained without such forms. It is not without sacred rites in any nation either in the Old Testament or the New, either in this world or the next. The legal forms in which the Tora comprehends the religion of Israel were indeed burdensome fetters, but yet they were wise means of education, and, as the history shows, were not incompatible with a true, profoundly hearty, and free religious spirit.

§ 9.

The Prophets as the Conscience of the State.

The prophets have rightly been called the conscience of the Israelitish state; for as the conscience in man is related to the law written in his heart (Rom. II, 15) so prophecy in Israel is related to the Sinaitic Tora kept by the priests. It is like the conscience a knowledge, which continually attests itself in the form of impulse, of judgment, and of feeling, a knowledge namely about that which God, who has revealed himself in history, wills or does not will. Its proper prophetic character follows from its admonitory and denunciatory nature.

Remark. It appears from passages like Hos. IV, 6; VIII, 1; Amos II, 4 and also Is. I, 11—14, where an existing code concerning festivals and offerings is presupposed, that a codex of the Mosaic laws was already in existence in the time of the prophets of the eighth century. With the latter passage we may compare Hos. VIII, 12, which should be translated: "Were I to write for him myriads of my law, they would be regarded as strange", that is a still more extensive Tora would have had the same fate as the existing one. Smend in his dissertation in the *Studien und Kritiken*, Gotha 1876, p. 599 etc. (*Ueber die von den Propheten des 8. Jahrhunderts vorausgesetzte Entwickelungsstufe der israelitischen Religion*), actually translates the passage: "I wrote for him myriads of my law". These words of Hosea certainly indicate, as even Schrader acknowledges, the existence of a divinely obligatory law in the form of a codex, not to mention such testimonies in the psalms as we find in Ps. XIX, which is by David, and in Ps. LXI, 6 and LXXVIII, 5 by Asaph.

§ 10.

The Ethical Aim of Prophecy.

The prophet is not as such a proclaimer of future events. The prophetic preaching always has a moral end in view, and even its proclamation of the future serves this end. The disclosures respecting future events are determined and measured by the moral requirements of the present. Although all prophecy has been occasioned by the historic circumstances of the time in which it was uttered, nevertheless it does not surrender the progress of revelation to planless chance; for as God in the history of the world makes all the activity of human freedom a cooperative factor in the fulfilment of his decree, so in the history of revelation he causes the different phases of the times to become impulses of his revelation, which seeks step by step to reach its New Testament goal.

Remark. The gradual enrichment of the believing consciousness, brought about by the prophets, the deepening and purification of religion itself is effected through the looking out into future. The essential salvation, the full reality of the divine decree lay in the realm of the future. The prophecy was therefore for the present a religious and ethical lever, not a satisfaction of the intellectual desire for knowledge, but a practical longing for salvation.

§ 11.

The Prophets as retrospective Seers.

"The Lord Jehovah does not perform anything", says Amos (III, 7, compare Gen. XVIII, 17; Ps. XXV, 14) "unless he has revealed his secret to his servants the prophets". This insight into the grounds and the ends of his government which God grants the prophets extends from the present not only to the future, but also to the past; for in order to understand the present, one must not only know the future with which it is pregnant, but also the past from which the present has sprung. Therefore many prophets from the time of Samuel, Nathan, and Gad (1 Chron. XXIX, 29) were historians of their time. Therefore the Tora, which is regarded in Ezra IX, 11 as a prophetic work, begins with the primitive history of the human race and the historical antecedents of Israel. And hence the Pentateuchal narrative proceeds as a historical work, which relates the history of Israel further until the Babylonian Exile (נְבִיאִים רִאשֹׁנִים), and which is more or less characterized by its

placing its historical materials under the ethical and prophetic standpoint of Deuteronomy, and in interweaving and enclosing them with Deuteronomic reflections.

Remark. The name *prophetae priores* has, in our opinion, arisen from the presupposition, that the authors of our books were prophets. Anger however holds a different opinion. He says that works receive this designation which have prophetic sayings, whether they are communicated in historical connections (*prophetae priores*), or are gathered together in special prophetic writings (*prophetae posteriores*). But we may urge against this theory, that, if it were true, then (1) also Chronicles and Daniel must stand among the former prophets, and since they do not, that it would be necessary to assume, that the division of the prophets (נְבִיאִים) was already closed, when these writings were added; (2) that the composition of those historical books by the prophets, not to speak of their work in the final redaction, is confirmed through their manner of writing history, which is sharply distinguished from the annalistic and priestly style of the Chronicler. (3) We urge further, that the prophets really occupied themselves with historical composition. Isaiah for example was according to 2 Chr. XXVI, 22 the author of a complete history of the reign of Uzziah.

§ 12.

Close connection of Historiography and Prophecy.

The historical activity of the prophets was as such a literary one. It even began with Samuel Nathan and Gad. Citations by the Chronicler, like 2 Chr. IX, 29; XII, 15; XIII, 22 show that the prophets combined their prophecies with their representations of the history of the times. From this literature of prophetic history, of which we have an example in the book of Joshua, the literature of the properly prophetic books first gradually received an independent form. But this was never brought to an entire separation of the historical from the prophetic portions, as appears, for example, in the historical intermediate portions of the books of Isaiah and Jeremiah, and in the historical bisection of the book of Joel II, 18. 19a.

Remark. The transition of the literature of the prophetic historical writing into that of the prophetic collection is imperceptible. The period of the world-empires was decidedly favorable to the origin of the latter. At that time when Israel was violently drawn upon the theatre of the great world-historical conflicts the horizon of prophecy was wider, and its themes more comprehensive; the oral prophetic preaching therefore subsequently became fixed in writings, even without such a specially direct divine command as Is. XXX. 8. as a memorial of divine intimations for all peoples and times.

CHAPTER III.

The Divine and Human Side of Prophecy.

§ 13.

The Prophet as a Holy Man.

The prophet is called in an official sense a man of God (אִישׁ[הָ]אֱלֹהִים 1 Sam. IX, 6—9, compare Deut. XXXIII, 1), and a servant of Jehovah (עֶבֶד יְהוָה 2 Kings IX, 7, compare Deut. XXXIV, 5), but this official character rests upon the general character of personal union with God, and upon piety. According to the *Wisdom of Solomon* VII, 27 the heavenly wisdom, in the course of human history, raises up friends of God and prophets by her entrance into holy souls (κατὰ γενεὰς εἰς ψυχὰς ὁσίας μεταβαίνουσα φίλους θεοῦ καὶ προφήτας κατασκευάζει). This ethical condition is of great importance for the proper appreciation of the spiritual and miraculous, and yet unmagical character of all true prophecy.

Rem. 1. An excellent dissertation, bearing upon this subject, which rightly divides the divine and the human in prophecy is Düsterdieck's *De Rei Prophetiae in Vetere Testamento cum Universae, tum Messianae Natura Ethica*, Göttingen 1852, in which he carries out the idea, that the intercourse of the prophets with God, which the religious and moral nature of man and especially the covenant relation of God to Israel brings with it, is the ethical ground from which the prophecy worked by God goes forth. He says: *Nullus in vocato ac misso homine animi motus sine Deo est, neque vero ullus, qui contra propriam hominis naturam efficiatur a Deo*, "When a man is called and sent there is no movement of the mind without God, nor indeed is any, which is contrary to the true nature of man, effected by God."

Rem. 2. The New Testament names those whom God deems worthy to be receivers and mediums of his revelation, holy men (2 Peter I, 21), and calls those who have been thus honored the holy prophets (2 Peter III. 2, compare Rev. XXII. 6 according to the reading: τῶν ἁγίων προφητῶν).

§ 14.

Character of the Prophets' Intercourse with God.

The prophets according to this hold intercourse with God by means of prayer. They question God, as the book of Habakkuk shows, and he answers; but they do not receive the divine disclosures until they have first occupied an attitude of waiting (Hab.

II, 1) and praying (Jer. XXXIII, 3, compare Acts X, 9). Their intercourse with God is a being and living in God and God in them. Therefore the prophet speaks throughout the Old Testament prophetic books after a peculiar *communicatio idiomatum* at one time as though he were Jehovah (Deut. XI, 13—15), at another as though Jehovah were the prophet (Is. VII, 10—11). They speak like the angel of God, as if they were God, their instrumental *ego* and the absolute *ego* changing places abruptly.

§ 15.

Prophecy as belonging to the Realm of Grace.

Prophecy is an arrangement and an effect of God the Redeemer. It does not proceed from God the Creator as such, concerning whom Paul said to the Athenians (Acts XVII, 28): "For in him we live and move and have our being"; nor does it lie in the same domain as the conscience, of which the philosopher Seneca says (Epist. XLI): *sacer intra nos spiritus sedet.* It belongs indeed as a means of salvation to this world (1 Cor. XIII, 8), but it descends from above, and serves the world of the future (Is. LXV, 17, compare LI, 16). Whoever approaches the prophetic writings with the modern view of the world, which disputes the supernatural realm of the cosmical and psychological miracle, will explain the distant glimpses of the prophets, either through a natural series of representations, which they experience, whether as inferences or phantasies, or he will stamp them as prophecies after the event (*vaticinia post eventum*). But those that prophesy out of their own hearts (נִבְּאֵי מִלִּבָּם Ezek. XIII, 12. 13, compare Jer. XIV, 14; XXIII, 16. 26), who follow the impulses of their own spirit, are according to the Scriptures false prophets.

§ 16.

Spontaneous and Transcendental Elements in Prophecy.

If now the election and preparation of a man as a prophet is based upon the presupposition of personal piety, so also his reception, as well as his proclamation of the divine revelations, is accomplished in the sphere of human freedom. From Ezek. II, 8; Jer. XX, 7 it is evident, that the prophet has first bowed himself in the obedience of faith to the word for which he demands obedience; and from Is. VIII, 11; Ezek. VIII, 1 that the prophet is taken

possession of by the working of the divine power not without connection with the free disposition and endeavor of his inner being. It is the prophet's self-conscious, and self-determining inner life which God makes the place and the means of his own self-attestation in word and symbol. But since the prediction of the prophet is not a product of his natural will, it is also according to 2 Peter I, 20 not a matter of his own unriddling. There remains in the prophecy something transcending the understanding of the prophet, and first the history of the fulfilment furnishes the full understanding.

Remark. The proposition which Riehm, *Messianische Weissagung*, Gotha 1875, (p. 6), sets forth: "That what we can first recognize in the time of the accomplishment of prophecy is precisely not the content of the prophecy itself" needs limitation. Undoubtedly the mind of the Spirit, that is that which the Spirit of prophecy has in view, should not be made the intention of the prophet, or what is the same should not be made the historical purport of that which is prophesied. But Riehm himself admits (p. 8), that to the purport of prophecy not only the purport belongs, to which the prophet gives a clear, conscious, full expression, but also that which is higher and deeper, which lies for himself in the twilight of presentiment. He also grants that this does not belong less to the historical intent, but only in the entire indefiniteness of presentement.

§ 17.

No Magic Element in Prophecy.

Even the mercenary Balaam was certain from the very beginning that only in the power of Jehovah could he do anything against Israel (Num. XXII, 18; XXIII, 3), and he surrendered himself to the direction of God, and to the word which he put in his mouth (Num. XXIII, 4—6). He, who was originally no prophet, but a soothsayer, becomes the submissive organ of the divine Spirit, but not before he has allowed himself to be inwardly overcome by Him. Saul, as described in 1 Sam. X, 1—13 followed the direction of Samuel, and it is in the person of his better self, that even as a persecutor of David (1 Sam. XIX, 23) he is not able to withdraw from the power of the prophetic Spirit.

Remark. Those who are mentioned in Matt. VII, 22, are such as allowed themselves through their prophetic gifts to be overcome with spiritual pride, from which they inwardly died. The ominous word of Caiphas (John XI, 49—52) is not derived from a gift of prophecy which he possessed, but absolutely from a providential causal connection.

CHAPTER IV.

Difference between the Prophecy of Redemptive History and Heathen Mantic.

§ 18.

The opposition between Prophecy and Mantic.

Even Balaam, who allowed himself to be hired to curse Israel, but overpowered by the Spirit of the God of Israel became a prophet of blessing, confesses Num. XXIII, 23: "There is no divination (נַחַשׁ) in Jacob and no soothsaying (קֶסֶם) in Israel; at the fixed time it will be said to Jacob and to Israel, what God works"; according to which Israel derives his knowledge respecting the future absolutely from the voluntary, and prevenient testimony of God. Hence the Tora forbids all kinds of witchcraft, both that which violently interferes with the present, as well as that which explores the future (Deut. XVIII, 10—12; Lev. XX, 27; XIX, 31). The judgment of condemnation which is pronounced upon it is conditioned through the connection in which the heathen mantic stands to idolatry, and also through the untruth of the utterances by which the questioner allows himself to be deceived. But this condemnatory judgment is pronounced for a third reason, where those already cited do not avail. The Jewish maid of Philippi (Acts XVI) testifies to the truth and yet Paul considers her as physically diseased, and regards her prophetic spirit (πνεῦμα πύθωνος) as an evil demon, which he expels. The mantic is considered in the Scriptures, even on account of the manner of its performance, as a denial of God and as sacrilege.

Remark. Among the kinds of witchcraft which the Scriptures reject, is also that of necromancy, which cites the dead and questions them respecting the future of that which is doubtful. The prophet's words (Is. VIII, 19): God's people shall not question the dead, but the living God who conditions all things, hold good with reference to Spiritualism.

§ 19.

Resemblance and Difference between Mantic and Prophecy.

The heathen mantic was divided into a scientific and an unscientific species (τεχνικόν and ἄτεχνον γένος Plutarch, *Vita Homeri* § 212), an artificial and a natural kind of divination (*duo genera divinandi, unum artificiosum, alterum naturale*, Cicero, *De Divinatione*, Lib. I, 18; II, 11). The artificial prophesies through the explanation of signs, and the natural through inspiration. The mantic has a similar origin with prophecy in the religious and moral nature of man. It is based upon man's need of intercourse with God, or of knowledge about His will and counsel. Also the mode of appearance and the actual means which the mantic employs, in order to seek the will of deity and of the future have many points of similarity with the prophecy of redemptive history, and yet the Holy Scriptures presuppose a specific difference between both, from which difference they derive their moral demands.

Remark. Even in the Holy Scriptures the Urim and Thummim of the high priest's ephod, and the lot (e. g. in the choice of kings and an apostle) are employed as actual means of ascertaining the divine will, and music is also used at least for the sake of producing a prophetic frame of mind (2 Kings III, 15, compare 1 Sam. X, 5).

§ 20.

The forced self-excitement of the Mantic.

As, for the heathen, the knowledge of one absolute Elohim has been resolved into the representation of many Elohims, which have no supernatural reality, but rather a demoniacal background (1 Cor. X, 20); so within heathenism the requisite inspiration for the knowledge of future events became a self-made inspiration under the use of intoxicating stimulants, and the divine words and visions which the seer perceived and reported, as for example the Pythian oracles, were for the most part nothing else than illusory expressions and images wrung from a diseased and excited subjectivity. But since such a self-excitation cannot be a constant, but only an occasional one, other means were invented for penetrating the future, and hence there arose by the side of the prophetic mantic the profession of the astrologers (Is. XLVII, 13), of the augurs (*augur* = *aviger*, as *auspex* = *avispex*), and of the aruspex (*haruspex* from *haru* = *hira*, entrails).

Remark. Compare Oehler *Programm über das Verhältniss der alttestamentlichen Prophetie zur heidnischen Mantik,* Tübingen 1861, and Tholuck, *Die Propheten und ihre Weissagungen,* Gotha 1860, § 1. *Die Mantik.* Apuleius in the *Metamorphoses,* Lib. VIII, gives a clear picture of a soothsayer belonging to the troop of flagellants of a Syrian godess: *Inter haec unus ex illis bacchatur effusius ac de imis praecordiis anhelitus crebros referens, velut nimium divino spiritu repletus, simulabat sauciam vecordiam, prorsus quasi Deûm praesentia soleant homines non sui* [ἑαυτῶν] *fieri meliores, sed debiles effici vel aegroti;* "meanwhile one of them behaved himself like a raging madman, and breathing all the while most deeply from his inmost bosom, as though overfull of the divine spirit, feigned sickly nonsense, just as if through the presence of the gods men were not rendered better than they had been before, but as though they were thereby made weak and sick." Chrysostom also characterizes the difference between the mantis and the prophet in the following manner (Hom. XXIX in *ep. ad Corinthios*): Τοῦτο μάντεως ἴδιον· τὸ ἐξεστηκέναι, τὸ ἀνάγκην ὑπομένειν, τὸ ὠθεῖσθαι, τὸ ἕλκεσθαι, τὸ σύρεσθαι ὥσπερ μαινόμενον. Ὁ δὲ προφήτης οὐχ οὕτως, ἀλλὰ μετὰ διανοίας νηφούσης καὶ σωφρονούσης καταστάσεως, καὶ εἰδὼς ἃ φθέγγεται φησὶν ἅπαντα, ὥστε καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐκβάσεως κάντεῦθεν γνώριζε τὸν μάντιν καὶ τὸν προφήτης; "This is the peculiarity of the mantis: to be beside oneself, to suffer constraint, to be struck, to be stretched, to be dragged like a madman. The prophet however is not so, but, he speaks everything with calm understanding, and with sound self-possession, and knowing what he proclaims, so that before the result we can even from these things distinguish between the mantis and the prophet."

§ 21.

The Mantic as Necromancy.

The heathen belief, which became changed in practice, did not however remain at this point, but broke through the boundaries between the world of men and spirits, so that the words δαιμονιώδης or δαιμονικός became designations conveying an idea similar to that of θεῖος or ὅσιος and θεόπνευστος, and penetrated the barriers between this and the next world, since they called up persons from the realm of departed spirits. The disclosures concerning the future, secured in this way, although in certain cases in accordance with truth, as the address of Samuel to Saul in Endor shows, were yet a sacrilege, that is a robbery committed by breaking into a forbidden sphere. Hence the heathen mantic ended in universal bankruptcy, precisely at the time when the predictions of the Old Testament prophets became yea and amen in Christ.

Rem. 1. Josephus says explicitly in *Bell. Jud.* VII, 6, 3: τὰ δαιμόνια πονηρῶν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων πνεύματα. "The demons are the spirits of bad men." Plutarch

also, as well as Heraclitus and Pythagoras, in *Diogenes Laert.* IX, 7; VIII, 21. 32. 36, calls the spirits of the other world ψυχὰς ἀσωμάτους, "disembodied spirits".

Rem, 2. Prophecy and mantic stand to the history of the people in an inverted relation. Prophecy becomes more and more intense, the deeper it descends with the history of the people, while mantic rises and falls with the intensity of the heathen nationality. As the national character of the Greeks degenerated the mantic accomplished nothing more. Pythia in Plutarch's time no longer discoursed in winged, poetical sayings. Apollo had no answer for the emperor Julian.

CHAPTER V.

God's Mode of Communication with the Prophets.

§ 22.

Revelations through Dreams.

The prophet, while the God of revelation works in him, is either in a sleeping or waking condition. The mode of revelation in the condition of sleep is by means of dreams. The dream is in itself a natural event, and receives as such, on account of its connection with the sexual life, the name חֲלוֹם. In spite of its natural character however it has always in itself something wonderful, since it shows that the daily side of the soul has a nightly side as its background, and since through the bringing forward of this nightly side it causes capabilities of an unusual elevation, or which were even unknown in daily life, to appear. To the fulness of the powers, slumbering in the soul, which are frequently evolved in sleep, belongs the power of divination, relating multifariously to individuals and nations. Although dreams are mostly phantoms and caricatures (Ecc. V, 6; Sirach XXXI, 5), yet this deep and far-reaching view of the dreamer is not only recognized by heathen witnesses, such as Aeschylus, *Eumenides* ver. 106, but also by the Holy Scriptures (compare *The Wisdom of Salomon* XVIII, 19), which relate many predictive dreams like Gen. XL, for the explanation of whose origin, the inborn, natural gift of prophecy suffices.

Rem. 1. E. von Lasaulx in his ingenious and learned work: *Die prophetische Kraft der menschlichen Seele in Dichtern und Denkern*, München 1858, levels too much the difference between the prophecy of redemptive history and the heathen divination and mantic, since he derives both from the sinking of the individual soul in the soul of the universe. There where both meet together, as he affirms, this concurrence is rooted in the religious and moral yearnings of

the human soul, which stand forth in the heathen world as longing voices, and to which prophecy affords a divine answer. Thus the description of the righteous man, in the second book of Plato's *Republic*, who suffers and endures to the end, must be referred to the demand for the realization of the moral ideal; and the description of the golden age in the fourth *Eclogue* of Virgil is best explained by the demand for a termination of history which corresponds to its paradisaical beginning.

Rem. 2. Such a heathen seer, whom Paul himself (Titus I, 12) calls a prophet, was Epimenides, born at Gnossus in Crete. The altar of the unknown God, which Paul found in Athens was one of the sacrificial places, which Epimenides had erected, as he was called to Athens, in order to atone for the plague and other misfortunes of the stricken city, with the presupposition that there might be an unknown diety whose wrath rested upon the city.

§ 23.

The Prophetic Dream.

Differing from such visions of the future, which only providentially happen to correspond to the circumstances, are those divinely wrought, as Gen. XXVIII; Dan. II. The Holy Scriptures allow for both kinds of dreams, a capacity of interpretation given from above (Gen. XL, 8; XLI, 16; Dan. I, 17). If however the revelation in the dream serves not only personal, but also professional ends, then it properly is the prophetic dream. This kind of revelation in a dream (בַּחֲלוֹם Num. XII, 6) is the lowest grade of revelation. The only biblical example of it is Dan. VII. The prophetic dream is God's mode of revelation to the heathen world, as in the Old Testament to Abimelech (Gen. XX, 3—7), Pharaoh (XLI, 1—7, compare ver. 25), Nebucadnezzar (Dan. II, 1—3, compare ver. 28), and in the New Testament to the Magi (Matt. II, 12), and to Pilate's wife (XXVII, 19). The natural life here becomes the medium of revelation, and there is great danger of deception; hence Jeremiah (XXIII, 28) speaks so depreciatingly of the dream, and it is generally false prophets and soothsayers who proclaim what they have dreamed (Jer. XXIX, 8; Zech. X, 2).

Remark. In the life of Jacob, besides the phrase וַיֵּרָא, which occurs once (Gen. XXXV, 9), and וַיֹּאמֶר, twice (XXXI, 3; XXXV, 1), the revelation in a dream בַּחֲלוֹם is found twice (XXVIII, 12; XLVI, 2). In all God reveals himself to Jacob five times in his life of one hundred and forty seven years.

§ 24.

The Prophetic and the Mantic Ecstasy.

A dream is always an experience which occurs in sleep (Job. XXXIII, 15; Is. XXIX, 7), ecstasy on the contrary which receives its name from a transference beyond the natural mode and the present world of perception, is always an experience which occurs when one is awake. The deep sleep (תַּרְדֵּמָה LXX ἔκστασις) which falls upon Abraham (Gen. XV, 12) is not a natural sleep. Sometimes there is connected with the prophetic ecstasy, as with the mantic, a cataleptic condition, but this is only where the one seized with the prophetic spirit is uncongenial, as a Balaam or a Saul. Moreover the prophetic ecstasy differs from the mantic therein, that the prophet does not put himself in an ecstatic condition by means of narcotics, that he does not come forth under sickly appearances, which border on madness, and that his experience does not resemble that of the Cumaean sibyl, who, when the ecstatic inspiration left her, had no remembrance of that which she had spoken.

Rem. 1. The observation of Riehm, *Messianische Weissagung*, Gotha 1875, p. 17, that the ecstatic condition is a mark of a lower grade of prophecy, only applies to that ecstasy, which in an almost pathological manner does violence to nature; for ecstasies are really special advantages, which prepare the prophet for his calling, and strengthen him therein, and which make him in special cases the mirror of divine thoughts and things. Paul also says (2 Cor. XII, 1—6) that he could boast of ecstasies; but within the church he only attributes a relative value to the ecstasy of tongues (1 Cor, XIV), when that, which the one speaking with tongues as with the voice of an angel, is translated by an interpreter from the realm of the spirit (πνεῦμα) into that of the understanding (νοῦς).

Rem. 2. Kuenen, *The Prophets and Prophecy in Israel*, London 1877, p. 86, holds that the ecstasy in itself is no supernatural phenomenon, and that it is to be explained as originating from the human organism, specifically from the nervous system. From this it appears that he knows no distincton between the realm of nature and that of grace, which as we believe and know is the realm of the miraculous.

§ 25.

Prophetical Inspiration.

Dreams and visions are at all times only sporadic modes of revelation. The more continued intercourse of God with the pro-

phet is effected only by the word, hence by inspiration, since the thinking, feeling, willing, spirit of the prophet in the condition of a full, true self-possession is elevated and sustained, at one time by a softer, at another by a more vehement operation of the divine Spirit (2 Peter I, 21), which, with the breaking through of the series of natural images, gives his thinking, feeling, and willing divine impulses and a divine purport, and works within him thoughts and sensations, which serve the progressive realization of God's purpose in history and in the consciousness of men. This is the condition of inspiration, to which the phrase invented by Hippocrates especially applies: θεῖα πάντα καὶ ἀνθρώπινα πάντα, "all is divine and all is human". Repose from one's own activity, surrender to the longed for working of God and yet also at the same time a working up of that which has been received are indissolubly connected. We may compare the prophet to the lyre and the Holy Ghost to the plectron; this lyre however is not a dead instrument, but the individually definite soul which does not give forth a single note from itself without the cooperation of its own personality.

Rem. 1. Hengstenberg holds even in the second edition of his *Christologie des Alten Testaments*, Berlin 1854—1857, that every receptive and productive activity of the prophet takes place in an ecstatic condition. Even Kueper, *Das Prophetenthum des Alten Testaments*, Leipzig 1870, explains the fundamental character of all prophecy as ecstatic; but that is not correct and we do not require this more or less Montanistic view, in order to preserve the supernatural and apocalyptic character of prophecy. Even Chrysostom (See Remark to § 20, p. 19) maintains the same view as we have presented in the preceding paragraph, that the prophet receives a message from God and speaks through Him by daylight and in the voluntary exercise of his own individuality. We agree in this respect with Riehm and others; also with Kuenen who nevertheless considers ecstasy, as well as prophecy in general, a natural phenomenon.

Rem. 2. Montanus in *Epiphan. haer.* XLVIII, 4 represents the Paraclete as saying: Ἰδοὺ ἄνθρωπος ὡσεὶ λύρα, κἀγὼ ἴπταμαι ὡσεὶ πλῆκτρον· ὁ ἄνθρωπος κοιμᾶται κἀγὼ γρηγορῶ κτλ. "Behold man is like a lyre, and I smite as though I were a plectron; man sleeps while I am awake." In agreement with this Tertullian *De anima*, ch. VI, says: *Gratiae convenit ecstasis id est amentia* "Ecstasy corresponds to grace, it is the change of human consciousness into unconsciousness."

§ 26.

The unique Prophetic Character of Moses.

According to Num. XII, 6—8 God's mode of intercourse with Moses was unique. His superiority to all other prophets consisted

in his having more immediate intercourse with God than all the rest (Deut. XXXIV, 10). It is true that he too did not behold God except as He was veiled in a cloud (Ex. XIX, 9; XXIV, 16; XXXIII, 9 compare XXXIII, 20). But God met him without the accommodated, intermediate wall of a visible self-representation. Moses was only excelled in this preeminence by One who was not only God's Servant but also His Son (Heb. III, 5—6), and who had seen the one God, as even Moses had not seen Him (Joh. I, 18).

SECOND PART.

HISTORY.

CHAPTER VI.

The Divine Words respecting the Future Salvation before the Time of the Prophets.

§ 1.

The three concentric Circles of the Revelation in Word and Deed.

Not only the prediction but also the actual revelation of the divine decree of salvation describes three concentric circles, which in the prediction are narrowed, but in the revelation are widened through three successive stages. The prediction first of all concerns the human race, then the nations, and finally a chosen people; but the actual revelation first concerns the chosen people, then the nations and finally the human race. For in the Old Testament the Mediator of salvation is made known:

(1) *as the Seed of the woman, who is the conqueror of evil in mankind;*

(2) *as the Seed of the patriarchs, who is the blessing of the nations;*

(3) *as the Seed of David, who is the salvation and glory of Israel.*

In the New Testament Christ is revealed, as the Son of David, who born in Israel seeks the lost sheep of the house of Israel, then as the Seed of Abraham, who through the apostolic preaching, since it breaks through the old barriers, becomes a Blessing to the nations, and finally as the Son of man, who, as the conqueror of evil and of death, sets over against the Adamitic race a new one, born of God and which is comprised under Him as its head.

§ 2.

The firsts Revelation by Theophanies.

The proclamation of salvation in its two first stages does not yet appear to be introduced prophetically. This could not be the case, since immediately after the fall there were no other than the fallen pair, and in the time of the patriarchs darkness brooded, over the nations, which grace removed only from one individual, Abram. The word of God therefore in both the first stadia can only be proclaimed immediately, and while it can reach individuals, through the voice of the Invisible, yet on the other hand the judicial awards cannot come to the serpent, to the woman and to Adam, who are solidarily concerned, without God represents Himself in some phenomenal form.* The account in Gen. III, 8 also says this expressly. After the fall, which had dissolved the union of God with men, the theophanies begin, which have for their object the restoration of the fallen. The fundamental fact of the New Testament ὃς (θεὸς) ἐφανερώθη ἐν σαρκί (1 Tim. III, 16) secures the historical truth of these its premises, and as in the New Testament Jesus is not only the Saviour, but also the first Apostle of salvation (Heb. II, 3; III, 1), so Jehovah in the Old Testament is not only the God of the preparation for salvation, but also, so to speak, the first Prophet of the coming salvation.

Remark. The narrative of the creation and of the fall of man in the so-called Jehovah-Elohim document (Gen. II, 4—III) is acknowledgedly pre-exilic, resting upon old pre-Israelitic tradition, and, as the modern critics say, truly reproducing the mythical poetry of the national tradition. The truth is this that the old tradition respecting the origin and fall of man lies before us divested of its ethnico-mythological accessories. The tradition has been preserved in the Old Testament neither in the Babylonian nor in the Iranian form, but in that form, in which it has sustained the criticism directed against the Spirit of revelation. In the traditions and myths of the peoples there is more reason and more objective truth than in all philosophical systems.

* [By this Prof. Delitzsch means that while God might have spoken in the heart of each of the parties named, yet, as His communication was designed to be public for all three, some phenomenal manifestation of Himself became necessary. C.]

§ 3.

The Primitive Promise.

The serpent and in it the spiritual being, whose mask it became, are cursed on account of the temptation which proceeded from them. The earth is cursed on man's account, while the natural world, after its destiny as a means of blessing has been thwarted, is turned into an instrument of wrath. Man himself however is not cursed, but in the midst of the curse on the tempter the blessing rises upon him, through which he may, if he lays hold of it, escape the curse. The verdict pronounced upon the serpent, after it has been humbled to a worm in the dust, is (III, 15): "And I will put enmity between thee and between the woman, and between thy seed and her seed." The woman as the one first seduced, and the serpent, who served the Seducer as an instrument, are here representatives of their entire race. The divine retribution establishes and regulates between the race of serpents and of men a relation not only of internal antipathy, but also of deadly enmity (Ps. CXXXIX, 22). And who will conquer in this war, which is enacted as a law of the further history? "He shall bruise thee on the head and thou shalt bruise him on the heel" (Gen. III, 15^{b}). The entire decree of redemption is prefigured in this original word of promise so far as we only maintain, that the serpent as a seducer is intended, and that the curse, which falls upon it, has a background with reference to the author of the seducement. The malignant bite of the serpent in the heel of men, which they retaliate in the midst of their defeat by treading on its head, is only a natural picture of that which ever constitutes the most central purport of history namely. The conflict of mankind with Satan, and with all, who are ἐκ τοῦ διαβόλου (πονηροῦ) and hence not so much the seed of the woman as of the serpent, and the decided victory of mankind in which this conflict ends. It is in the first place promised that mankind will secure the victory, for the word הוּא refers to זֶרַע אִשָּׁה. Nevertheless since the promise of victory refers to the present seducer (ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος), we may consequently infer that the seed of the woman will culminate in One, in whom the opposition will be strained to the utmost and the defeat will finally be completed in totally depriving the Seducer of his power. Even in form this original promise is so framed that it is entirely parallel with the

fulfilment. The entire history and order of salvation are unfolded in this *proto-evangelium.* Like a sphinx it couches at the entrance of sacred history. Later in the period of Israelitish Prophecy and Chokma, the solution of this riddle of the sphinx begins to dawn; and it is only solved by Him through whom and in whom that has been revealed, towards which this primitive prophecy was aimed.

Rem. 1. Even granting that שׁוּף both times, or even once, had a similar signification with עָקַב *inhiare* (LXX τηρεῖν, Jerome *insidiari*), nevertheless it could not be construed with a double accusative of the person and of the member: No verb indicating a hostile disposition is construed with a double accusative, only verbs signifying a hostile meeting as הִכָּה Gen. XXXVII, 21; Judg. XV, 8; 2 Sam. III, 27; Ps. III, 8; רָצַח Deut. XXII, 26; מָחַץ Deut. XXXIII, 11; רָעָה Jer. II, 16. The verb שׁוּף however signifies even in Job. IX, 17 *conterere* and is the stereotyped Targum word for הָכָא *contundere,* טָחַן *commolere,* and שָׁחַק *comminuere;* Paul too (Rom. XVI, 20) renders it with συντρίβειν. All the stems derived from the root שׁף or סף presents various shades of the radical signification *terere.*

Rem. 2. In the Babylonian tradition the great serpent is Tihâmat, the original source of all evil, namely as the personified תְּהוֹם. This tradition expresses a profound thought, since the essence of evil is a falling back into chaos. This serpent Tihâmat seduces mankind, by seeking to sustain itself in its authority, it destroys the grove of life. It is called preeminently *aibu* (אֵיבָ) and it is named exactly as in the Apocalypse *ṣiru maḫru tihâmat* ὁ ὄφις ὁ ἀρχαῖος. Likewise in the Iranian tradition, where it is the first creation of Ahriman, who himself is both represented and called a serpent, the serpent disturbs the peace, destroys paradise, and casts down Yima the ruler of the golden age, that is the first man. We see in these traditions true reminiscences and rational thoughts respecting the origin of evil although in a mythical garb.

§ 4.

Enosh and Enoch.

The first echo of the word of promise received by faith is the name חַוָּה (Gen. III, 20, Sept.: Ζωή) which Adam gives his wife. While then the worldly tendency of the Cainitic race rises to a blasphemous self-confidence in Lamech, the seventh, from Adam, yet in the Sethitic line the religious community begins with Enosh, the third from Adam, and the tendency towards God, which is indigenous in this line, constantly deepens until it culminates in Enoch, the seventh from Adam, in an endearing relation to God which resembles the one lost through sin and which raises him above the law of death. This Enoch was, according to the

tradition which has been put in form in the book of Enoch, a prophet and foretold according to Jude vs. 14—15 the parousia of the Lord in judgment. For the redemption, or what is the same, the victory of the seed of the woman cannot henceforth be completed in any other way than through a final decision and separation (κρίσις), which not only overcomes all evil without, but also within the human race.

§ 5.

The words of Lamech at Noah's Birth.

Furthermore Lamech, the ninth from Adam, when his first son was born, hoped that in him, the tenth from Adam in the line of promise, the period of the curse would come to a comforting conclusion. This is evident from his elevated and prophetic words, when he says (Gen. V, 29): "This one shall comfort us (יְנַחֲמֵנוּ) concerning our work and the toil of our hands from the ground [compare the curse going from the ground, Gen. IV, 11], which Jehovah has cursed." Lamech's hope is directed to the ultimate comfort, and was also fulfilled in Noah, not indeed finally, but in a glorious manner, for the covenant after the flood was a comfort, whose blessing is destined to extend from then until the end of time.

Remark. The root נח signifies to breathe out, the verb נוּחַ *respirare*, and the piel נִחֵם *facere ut quis respiret*, hence *consolari*. Therefore the notion of comforting, when the comfort is meant as an act, can be expressed through הֵנִיחַ לְמִן. If we compare Esth. IX, 16; Deut. XII, 10; Is. XIV, 3 and Gen. XXVII, 42; Is. I, 24, we shall see that Noah's name (V, 29) is explained according to the sense. Moreover מְנַחֵם is an old synagogical designation for the Messiah; compare Schoettgen, *De Messia*, Dresdae 1742, p. 18. The promise of Christ: "He shall give you ἄλλον παράκλητον" (Joh. XIV, 16) presupposes that Christ himself is παράκλητος (פְּרַקְלִיט = מְנַחֵם).

§ 6.

The Blessing of the Nations in Abraham's Seed.

Noah is the first mediator of the redemptive history, and the second, who constitutes an epoch in the mediatorship, is Abraham. He is the first man in sacred history, who is called a prophet (נָבִיא, Gen. XX, 7), but his mediatorial calling reaches farther than his prophetic. When the unity of the post-diluvial human race had been separated into a multitude of nationalities, God chose Abram from the line of Shem out of the midst of the nations, in accordance

with Noah's prophecy (Gen. IX, 26. 27), and connected with his seed, as the center and starting-point, the promise of the future redemption of the entire human race. The promise concerning the seed of the woman now enters a second stadium, advancing to the promise concerning the seed of the patriarch, as the chosen possessor of the divine blessing, which is to be the goal of the longing of all nations. As the promise, which makes Abram and Sarah ancestors of kings (Gen. XVII, 6. 16 compare XXXV, 11) culminates in Christ, the son of David, so the mediatorship of the blessing in the seed of the patriarch is ultimately fulfilled in Christ, the son of Abraham (Gal. III, 16, compare the retrospective reference in Ps. LXXII, 17).

Rem. 1. The prophetic words of Noah give Shem the preeminence, by naming Jehovah as his God, and since the names of the sons are ominous of their future, Shem seems to be intended as the bearer of the divine name (שֵׁם), that is of the historical revelation of God; for God's name signifies his revelation in the works of creation and the acts of history. That Japhet comes to dwell in the tents of Shem foreshadows the future conversion of the Japhetic family of nations to the God of revelation, and the harmonious relation of the Shemitic and Japhetic group of nations, by which the unanimous and filial conduct of both brothers is rewarded.

Rem. 2. The patriarchal words of promise are: "And all the nations of the earth shall bless themselves in thee" [in thy seed]. The phrase "they shall bless themselves" is expressed partly by the Niphal נִבְרְכָה (Gen. XII, 3; XVIII, 18; XXVIII, 14), partly by the Hithpael הִתְבָּרְכָה (XXII, 18; XXVI, 4). Although the Niphal which is originally reflexive came to have in very many cases a passive signification, yet since the Hithpael was only used as a passive at a late period (according to which the LXX renders all these passages: ἐνευλογηθήσονται ἐν τῷ σπέρματί σου πάντα τὰ ἔθνη τῆς γῆς, compare Ps. LXXII, 17 and Acts III, 25; Gal. III, 8), therefore we are led to assign a reflexive meaning to the parallel passages where the Niphal occur, as well as to those where the Hithpael is found. The Hithpael signifies to wish one well, *fausta sibi apprecari* (Deut. XXIX, 18: וְיִתְבָּרֵךְ בִּלְבָבוֹ), and with בְּ to wish oneself the happiness, which any one possesses and which proceeds from him (Is. LXV, 16: הַמִּתְבָּרֵךְ בָּאָרֶץ יִתְבָּרֵךְ בֵּאלֹהֵי אָמֵן; Jer. IV, 2: וְיִתְבָּרְכוּ בוֹ גּוֹיִם, LXX: καὶ εὐλογήσουσιν ἐν αὐτῷ ἔθνη). The promise therefore means that all nations will wish themselves the blessing of which Abraham and his seed are the bearers, so that since this desire for a blessing is a desire for salvation, Abraham and his seed become the means of blessing for the human race; first in the people of salvation (Is. XIX, 24, compare Acts III, 25), but to the highest degree in the one Saviour, who springs from Abraham. The reflexive interpretation really coincides with the passive, because the desire for salvation is followed by its attainment. Since the nations will desire the blessing of Abraham they will on that account be blessed. Spiritual blessings, according to God's order, fall to those who long for them.

CHAPTER VII.

The Prophetic Benedictions of the Dying Patriarchs.

§ 7.

The Prophetic Blessings of the Patriarchs.

Cicero, *De Divinatione*, Lib. I, § 63, says: *Appropinquante morte* [*animus*] *multo est divinior*, and Shakespeare, *Merchant of Venice*, Act I, Scene 2, affirms that "holy men at their death have good inspirations". The patriarchs in accordance with this experimental and psychological phenomenon, just before their death, became seers and uttered testamentary words of a prophetic character respecting their children. Even in itself considered there is a close relation between benediction and prophecy, since the one who blesses as well as the one who prophesies anticipates future events. But there is this difference, that the one prophesying proclaims the revealed character of the future, while the one blessing, himself moulds the future by the energy of his believing prayer. There are however blessings, which are not only wishes, whose result coincides with the result of the prayer of faith, but also prophecies whose truth is conditioned upon God's discovery of the future. Of such a sort are the בְּרָכוֹת of Isaac and Jacob, by which the blessing bestowed upon Abraham is continued and made special.

§ 8.

The Prophetic Blessing of Isaac.

It is the promise respecting the benediction of the nations through the seed of the patriarchs, and therefore of the completion of the divine work, which the patriarchs bestow as a blessing upon their firstborn, since they thus make them bearers of the great promised blessing, and mediums of the preparation for its fulfilment. Isaac is Abraham's first and only son by Sarah, and hence entitled to the reception of this blessing. Jacob snatches away the blessing of the first-born, which belonged to Esau, and even retains it, but

only as he atones for the sin connected with the act and obtains it anew from Jehovah by wrestling in prayer and tears. The blessing of the first-born (Gen. XXVII, 27—29), consists of four parts, in which Jacob is promised:

(1) The possession of the land of Canaan, under the divine benediction (vs. 27^b. 28): "See, the smell of my son is as the smell of a field which Jehovah has blessed; and God will give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the land, and plenty of corn and must";

(2) The subjection of the nations to such an extent that every limitation is contrary to the words of the text (ver. 29^a): "Peoples shall serve thee and nations shall bow down to thee";

(3) The primacy over his brothers, that is over those blood-relations, whose posterity were outside the line of promise (ver. 29^b): "Be lord over thy brethren and let thy mother's sons bow down to thee";

(4) So high a position in redemptive history that blessings and curses are conditioned by the relation which men take to him who has received the blessing (ver. 29^c): "Cursed be they that curse thee, and blessed be they that bless thee". Compare XII, 3 and Num. XXIV, 9, which is referred to the people of Israel. This fourth part shows that it is the same promise, received by Abraham, which Isaac bestows upon Jacob. Its goal is Christ. The promise extends to the nations, and even shortly becomes national and so Messianic. For Jacob's twelve sons form the transition from the family to the people of promise.

§ 9.

Jacob's Prophetic Blessing upon Judah.

The question now arises, from which of the twelve tribes the salvation, that is, the victory of mankind and the blessing of the nations, shall arise. Reuben through his incest with Bilhah forfeited the right of primogeniture (Gen. XLIX, 3—4). It could not be transmitted to Simeon and Levi on account of their outrage on the inhabitants of Shechem (Gen. XLIX, 5—7). Therefore the dying father transfers the double inheritance which is connected with the right of primogeniture to Joseph, his favorite son (vs. 22—26), but the primacy (1 Chron. V, 1) and the blessing of the promise upon his fourth son Judah (Gen. XLIX, 8—12). Jacob promises

him the leadership of the tribes of his people, as an inalienable prerogative, which will ultimately be extended to the government of the world:

"Judah, — thee, yea thee shall thy brethren praise; thy hand shall be upon the neck of thine enemies, thy father's sons shall, bow down before thee. Judah is a lion's whelp, from the prey, my son, thou art gone up [namely from the valley to thy lair in the mountains], he lay down, he couched as a lion, and as a lioness — who would dare to wake him up? The scepter shall not depart from Judah, nor the baton of the commander from between his feet, until he come to Shiloh, and to him will be the obedience of peoples", — that is, when he comes thither, his dominion over the tribes will be extended to a dominion over the nations. The personal explanation of שִׁילֹה (written fully according to the Massora) is inadmissible for the following reasons:

(1) In every place where בּוֹא שִׁלֹה occurs (Jos. XVIII, 9; 1 Sam. IV, 12, compare הֵבִיא שִׁלֹה Judg. XXI, 12; 1 Sam. I, 24; שִׁלַּח שִׁלֹה 1 Sam. IV, 4; הָלַךְ שִׁלֹה 1 Kings XIV, 2. 4) the word שִׁלֹה or שִׁלוֹ is a local accusative, and the name of a place in the midst of the tribe of Ephraim, which, to be sure, is mentioned only in this place in Genesis, but which could have been well known to Jacob.

(2) The name שִׁילֹה is derived from שׁוּל to hang down in a flabby manner, to be stretched, to rest and is abbreviated from שִׁילוֹן, like שִׁלֹמֹה from שְׁלֹמוֹן. In itself it can be the name of a person bringing rest (synonyme of שְׁלֹמֹה which is equivalent to אִישׁ מְנוּחָה 1 Chron. XXII, 9) as well as that of a place of rest, but it has its only analogy in the word גִּלֹה, and does not occur elsewhere in the Old Testament as the name of the Messiah.

(3) Moreover the tradition, which considers שִׁילֹה as the name of the Messiah, does not derive it from שׁוּל, but holds unanimously, although this according to the *scriptio plena* of the Massoretic text is absolutely impossible, that it signifies the same as שֶׁלּוֹ (שִׁלֹה) which is equivalent to אֲשֶׁר לוֹ *is cujus est* [*regnum*]. This explanation is indeed very old, since even Ezekiel (XXI, 32: עַד־בּא אֲשֶׁר־לוֹ הַמִּשְׁפָּט) alludes to it. But nevertheless it is most improbable that the abbreviation שׁ (equivalent to אֲשֶׁר), which is rather Aramaic than Hebrew should be used as the

component part of a proper name, and in such a way that the main idea (i. e. kingdom) must be understood.

(4) Besides the arrival at Shiloh, which is here prophesied, was really the turning-point for Judah; for when, as is related in Jos. XVIII, 1, the entire congregation of Israel with Judah, the leader of the tribes, who as the first of the tribes received his possession in Gilgal, assembled at Shiloh, where the tabernacle of the covenant was pitched, the land was subdued before them. Hence the coming to Shiloh is an epoch in the history of Israel and especially in that of Judah. And even the phrase וְלֹו יִקְהַת עַמִּים was fulfilled after this epoch in Judah (compare Deut. XXXIII, 7). Subsequently to the wars of the Judges in which he marched according to God's revealed will before Israel (Judg. I, 1. 2; XX, 18), he became the royal tribe in Israel. Under David and Solomon Judah not only held command over the tribes of Israel but also still further over the neighboring nations. The single examples of weakening and breaking down, from which the power and the permanence of the kingdom of Judah suffered, seem but brief moments to the patriarch in his prophecy. Since however the Chaldean catastrophe made an end of the Davidic kingdom, and this only lasted as a shadow of its former self for a short time under Zerubbabel, the fulfilment of this blessing upon Judah would indeed lack its crown, if it had not found its final fulfilment in Him of whom it is said (Heb. VII, 14): πρόδηλον γὰρ ὅτι ἐξ Ἰούδα ἀνατέταλκεν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν, and who is called in Rev. V, 5, with reference to Jacob's blessing ὁ λέων ὁ ἐκ τῆς φυλῆς Ἰούδα.

Rem. 1. The translation of שִׁילֹה with the presumption that the reading שִׁלֹה is equivalent to שֶׁלֹּו *cujus est* [*regnum*] is adopted by Onkelos, the second Jerusalem Targum, the Peshitto, Aquila, Symmachus, Aphraates, Saadia; also by the LXX (Theodotion), which however does not understand שֶׁלֹּו of a person but of a thing, and so does not translate it ᾧ ἀποκεῖται, "he to whom it belongs" (compare Ezek. XXI, 27: ἕως οὗ ἔλθῃ ᾧ καθήκει, *cui convenit regnum*), but ἕως ἐὰν ἔλθῃ τὰ ἀποκείμενα αὐτῷ. The following reasons are against this explanation:

(1) that שֶׁ, equivalent to אֲשֶׁר, occurs at most only once in the combination of particles בְּשַׁגַּם (as it should be read and not בשגם, Gen. VI, 3) *quoniam;* perhaps also in the proper name מִישָׁאֵל, if this signifies, who is what God is? (Ex. VI, 22; Lev. X, 4) synonymous with מִיכָאֵל, who is like God? (Num. XIII, 13), but as the first part of a proper name שֶׁ, equivalent to אֲשֶׁר does not occur.

(2) The following consideration however is decidely against the interpretation of שִׁלֹה as a proper name, that in such a case we should expect שִׁלֹה הוּא,

the pronoun הוּא referring to שֵׁבֶט and מְחֹקֵק as the emblems of supremacy. Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin 1878, vol. I, p. 375, however cuts the knot of this difficulty by expunging וְלוֹ, so that what remains signifies: until the one comes to whom (שִׁלֹה) the obedience of the nations belongs. This conjecture stands and falls with the correctness of the defective reading שִׁלֹה.

Rem. 2. It follows that שִׁילֹה is not the name of a person from the fact that Judah also remains the subject of that which follows (vs. 11—12):

"Binding his ass's foal unto the vine, and his she ass's colt unto the choice vine. He washed his garment in wine and his mantle in the blood of grapes, the eyes dark from wine, and the teeth white from milk." — The subject is here evidently Judah as a tribe, which after they had conquered the land, enjoyed the wine and milk of the country in peace and prosperity, whose fruitfulness was so great, that they did not hesitate to bind an ass to a noble fruit tree.

Rem. 3. The words אַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים in a prophetic connection indicate that which according to the range of the seer's vision appears to be the utmost limit, as the final point, or as the final period of history. For the dying Jacob (compare XLIX, 1) the promised possession of Canaan stands in the foreground of the final period, and all eschatological hopes move together with this future fact. That the blessing of Jacob is no *vaticinium post eventum*, as Anger and others maintain, is evident from the fact, that the actual possession of the land was never so fully realized as is here represented in the prophecy.

§ 10.

Since Jacob designates the tribe of Judah as the royal tribe of Israel, the history, preparatory to the coming of Christ, is now so far advanced, that the tribe of Judah is chosen as the place for the Parousia of the future One. But nevertheless the idea of the promise and of the prophecy of the future mediatorship of the blessing, and of the future dominion over the world has not yet taken on a personal form. — The subject of the victory is the human race, the subject of the blessing the posterity of Abraham, the subject of the world-empire the tribe of Judah. In the Mosaic age we may expect progress, since it is the primitive period of real prophecy.

Remark. Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn 1878, p. 18, says that the Pentateuch criticism, dating from Graf (d. 1869), blots out the Mosaic period and widens the horizon of the prophetic until the beginnings of the real Israelitic religion. At present we merely reply: (1) that the song of Deborah, the prophetess, whose genuineness no one has yet dared to question, celebrates the fact of God's revelation upon Sinai (Judg. V, 4—5); and (2) that according to the testimony of all the prophets the existence of Israel goes back to the divine act of redemption from Egypt, and that it is even in itself probable that this great period of the deliverance and establishment of the nation was a period of the deepest and highest spiritual, and hence prophetic, activity.

CHAPTER VIII.

Prophecy in the Time of Moses.

§ 11.

The Richness of the Prophetic Charisma.

The Tora expresses the mediatorial position of Moses (Deut. XVIII, 15) between the God of revelation and the people by the name נָבִיא. The unprecedentedly close manner of God's intercourse with his servant is compared with God's usual mode of intercourse with the prophets (Num. XII, 6—8), and even Moses in his incomparable preeminence bears as his proper official name the designation נָבִיא (Deut. XXXIV, 10). But as a prophet Moses does not stand alone; even his sister Miriam is called the prophetess (הַנְּבִיאָה Ex. XV, 20). Miriam and Aaron are conscious that Jehovah speaks through them (Num. XII, 2). The seventy elders whom Moses associates with himself participate in the divine Spirit and begin to prophesy (Num. XI, 24. 25). The prophetic inspiration seizes others also among the people (Num. XI, 26—29); hence words of the law are indicated as reaching Israel through the prophets (Ezra IX, 11—12). But while we contemplate Moses as a prophet of the future, a promise of a prophet like him (Deut. XVIII, 15—16) first meets us at the beginning of the Sinaitic legislation, and it will be ours to see, whether it only ensures the continuity of the prophetic mediatorship or holds out the prospect of its culmination in an antitype of Moses.

Remark. Not only the priests, as Wellhausen says, derived their Tora from Moses, but the prophets also attest the prophetic character of Moses (Hos. XII, 14): "Through a prophet Jehovah brought Israel up out of Egypt, and through a prophet he was tended". — They also attest the activity of the Holy Ghost in the Israel of the Mosaic period (Is. LXIII, 11). It is the Jehovist, who in Num. XI, 23—XII, 8, reports the animated prophetic life in the time of Moses, and the unique character of God's intercourse with him. And all the prophets testify unanimously that the redemption from Egypt indelibly stamped upon the people the spiritual character of its nationality (Amos II, 10, compare Micah VI, 4. 5; VII, 15).

§ 12.

The Prediction concerning the Prophet like Moses.

When the people at the giving of the Law on mount Sinai were unable to hear the voice of Jehovah in such dreadful proximity, and therefore Moses became a mediator between Jehovah and the people (Deut. V, 23—25; Ex. XX, 19), God also promised them for the future, to awaken a prophet from their midst (Deut. XVIII, 18—19):

"I will raise them up a Prophet from among their bretheren, like unto thee, and will put my words in his mouth; and he shall speak unto them all that I shall command him. And it shall come to pass, that whosoever will not hearken unto my words which he shall speak in my name, I will require it of him" — that is he will have to suffer punishment for the guilt which has been thereby occasioned. In order to rightly appreciate this prophecy, we must remember, that Moses was not the only prophet of his age. This historical consideration, in conjunction with others, is conclusive for the understanding of the expression כָּמֹנִי and כָּמוֹךָ (Deut. XVIII, 15, 18). The interpretation as if it were a collective, indicating a class *(prophetam = prophetas)* or a succession of individuals (one prophet, and then another, etc.), is open to the objection, that the singular is retained without being interchanged with the plural, and that the essential idea of continuity is not expressed. The interpretation therefore remains which applies נָבִיא to a single person. The prophets who followed Moses are no more included under this כָּמֹנִי than those who were contemporary with him, for none of them were prophets like Moses. The Tora (Deut. XXXIV, 10) says expressly that none were so great as Moses, for they were not mediators of such a divine revelation as he; they all moved in the sphere constituted through Moses' mediatorship. Their province was to represent the Spirit of the divine revelation on Sinai in such a manner, that they might at the same time prepare for God's future revelation, whose mediator the predicted prophet like Moses was to be. But shall we now he able to say that this prophet, as he is represented in Moses' prophecy is the Messiah? No. This picture of the prophet of the final period is first combined at a later age in the consciousness of the prophets with that of the king of the final period. Even the people in the time of Christ distinguish the great prophet, who had been predicted, from the

Messiah (John 1, 19—21; VII, 40—42), although in the face of Christ the presentiment of the unity of both dawned upon them (Matth. XXI, 9—11).

Rem. 1. It is true, that the context in which the prediction of a prophet like Moses appears seems to favor the collective interpretation, namely a succession of prophets, but the expression indicating this continuance is wanting. It rather establishes the proposition, that Israel does not need to listen to necromancers and soothsayers, since God has promised to raise up such a medium of his revelation as Israel now has in Moses. This prophecy which belongs to the period of the Sinaitic legislation, and had its historical position after Deut. V, 25, is here brought to remembrance supplementarily, and in a connection, which shows that this prophet like Moses will be the greatest, but not the only one.

Rem. 2. In Acts III, 22—24 the prophet predicted by Moses is distinguished from those prophets prophesying since Samuel. And Stephen says that Moses foretold the prophet who appears in the person of Jesus (Acts VII, 39). Philip's reply to Nathanael (John I, 46) refers to the same prophecy, and likewise the hope of the Samaritan woman (John IV, 25). Jesus in John XII, 48—49 says the same thing of himself which in Deut. XVIII, 17—19 is spoken concerning the Prophet.

§ 13.

Balaam's Prophecy concerning the Star and the Sceptre from Jacob.

It is the result of different circumstances, that, when the people were not able to bear the immediate impression of the Sinaitic legislation, the image of the future One took on the form of a prophet, while it took on the form of a king in the mouth of Balaam, whose power of enchantment, Balak the king of Moab summons against victorious Israel. Although occasioned by the circumstances of the time the prophecy of Balaam is adapted to the progress of the announcement of the future salvation. During a residence of several hundred years in Egypt the twelve tribes had become a considerable people. Although to human eyes this people was irretrievably abandoned to the despotism of the Pharaohs, yet through the miraculous power of God it was set at liberty, and at the same time placed upon the theatre of the world's history, in the midst of nations, which on account of their idolatrous character could only take a hostile attitude to the people of the one God. Thus originated a conflict between Israel and the world, and in spite of the first victories over Sihon king of the Amorites, and Og king of Bashan, the question arose, what the course and the result of this conflict would be. This question is solved through Balaam's prophecy (Num. XXIV, 15—17), and occasions

the specialization of the image of the future Mediator as an image of a king of Israel. The oracles of Balaam are divided into four sections. Thrice Balak summons him to curse, but he is compelled to bless (Num. XXIII, 7—10, 18—24; XXIV, 3—9). The four sections unroll the future history of the kingdom of God in its relation to the kingdoms of the world. Balak no longer presses Balaam to curse Israel, and Balaam on parting from him says (ver. 14):

"And now, behold, I go unto my people, come, I will put thee in mind how this people shall do to thy people in the last days." —

At this point the prophecies respecting the future destiny of the world-empires begin with the words (vs. 15—19):

"Balaam, the son of Beor says, and the man with his eyes opened [*perforatus oculo*] says. He says who hears the words of God, and knows the knowledge of the Most High, who beholds the vision of the Almighty, falling down, and having his eyes unveiled, I see him and not now, I behold him and not near [*neque vero propinquum*]: a Star comes out of Jacob, and a Sceptre arises out of Israel and smites the sides of Moab [i. e. both corners of Moab, his entire country] and utterly overthrows the sons of desolation [שֵׁת is equivalent to שְׁאת with a medial א, Lam. III, 47]. And Edom shall be a conquest, and Seir shall be a conquest, his [Israel's] enemies, but Israel retains the victory. And he [the ruler who is beheld] will rule from Jacob [Ps. LXXII, 8], and destroy that which has escaped from [hostile] cities.

Then in ver. 20 destruction is announced against Amalek, and in vs. 21 und 22 the carrying away of the Kenites through Assyria, but the range of the seer's vision still extends much farther (ver. 23—24):

"Alas, who shall live, when God shall accomplish this? And ships (come) from the side of Chittim and humble Assyria, and humble Eber; but even that [the power of the Chittim] falls to destruction." —

It is characteristic, that the prophet from Pethor, hence from the midst of the heathen, surpasses all the prophets of the following age, since he is allowed to behold a national and political picture of the future, which is first expanded in the visions of Daniel. First in the oracles of Balaam the future One appears as the Messiah, for the star is the emblem of his heavenly origin and glory, and the sceptre of his royal dignity. The One who is seen is not a *collectivum*, that is, is not the personification of the kingdom of promise, for Balaam's declaration is aimed at One in the final period. Since it is intended

to be eschatological David is not meant, although he overthrew the Moabites and Edomites. There neither stands before Balaam's distant vision a line of rulers, nor a single person within this line, but only the ideal King of the future, in whom the kingdom of Jehovah (XXIII, 21; XXIV, 7) is represented in human form, historically fulfilled in Christ, of whom the Apocalypse says that the kingdoms of this world shall ultimately become the kingdoms of our Lord and of his Christ (Rev. XI, 15; XII, 10), and who says of himself (Rev. XXII, 16): "I am the root and the offspring of David, and the bright and morning star." — It is worldly power which this king as Balaam beholds him dispenses, not spiritual blessings. The internal work of salvation is accomplished by Jehovah Himself.

This divine side of the kingdom of God in its completion receives a magnificent expression in the dying song of Moses (Deut. XXXII). In four pictures the entire history of Israel until the last days is presented before them. First Israel's creation and gracious treatment (vs. 1—14), then Israel's ingratitude and apostacy (vs. 15—19), then God's judgments (vs. 20—35), and finally Israel's salvation through the fire of judgment (vs. 36—43) are represented. This song was a mirror for the Israel of every age of its present condition and its future destiny. Herder (d. 1803) calls it the prototype and the canon of all prophecy, and Hengstenberg (d. 1869) the *Magna Charta* of the prophets.

Rem. 1. The paragraph concerning Balaam is considered as Jehovistic, but not without the admission on the part of Kayser, Wellhausen, and others that the Jehovist here has adopted an older account. If we were to consider Balaam's prophecy as a *vaticinatio post eventum* it would be necessary for us to descend to the age of the Seleucidae (from 312 B. C.), for the book of Daniel with similar words (XI, 30) holds out the prospect, that Antiochus Epiphanes will be humbled by the ships of Chittim, and will then wreak his vengeance upon the Jews. By the ships of Chittim the Roman fleet is here intended, which brought Caius Popilius Laenas to Egypt (168 B. C.). Cyprus, with its capital city Citium, was the chief station of the ships sailing from the Occident to the Orient, on their way to the Levant, hence the ships of Chittim are those coming from the west, that is Greek or Roman.

Rem. 2. Klostermann, *Das Lied Moses und das Deuteronomium, Studien und Kritiken*, Gotha 1871—72, has proved that the great song of Moses, which is assigned by Ewald (d. 1875) and Kamphausen (*Das Lied Moses*, Leipzig 1865) to the Assyrian or the later Babylonian period, was known at the very latest in the time of Hezekiah as coming from Moses, and was perpetuated with the historical frame (Dent. XXXI, 16—22), in which it lies before us, as a part of Deuteronomy.

§ 14.

The Blessing of Moses.

We need not be surprised, that the promise of Jacob which is made concerning Judah as the royal tribe in the blessing of Moses (Deut. XXXIII), which belongs historically after Num. XXVII, 23, finds no echo, for the words respecting Judah have regard only to his rest after his victorious struggles (Deut. XXXIII, 7):

"Hear, Lord, the voice of Judah, and bring him to his people; with his hands he has striven for himself, and thou wilt be a succor for him against his enemies."

The blessing testifies for the entire Old Testament period the fundamental fact, that Jehovah has become king in Jeshurun (ver. 5), and that Israel is happy as the people of such a gracious God. The blessing upon Zebulon and Issachar indicates the calling of the heathen to communion with this God who dwells upon the holy mount, or in the holy hill country (vs. 18—19). But no mention is made of a human king. Israel's salvation appears as the work of Jehovah Himself. The Messiah does not yet stand in the centre of the hope of salvation and glorification, since both are expected immediately from Jehovah.

Remark. Graf (d. 1869), *Der Segen Moses*, Leipzig 1857, derives this document from the time of the contemporary reigns of Jeroboam II and Uzziah, while Knobel finds in it a mirror of the age of Saul. But Volck, *Der Segen Moses*, Erlangen 1873, has proved with sober argumentation that all which is said about the respective tribes can be best explained from the standpoint of Moses and his age. It is worthy of remark, that Deut. XXXIII, 2 is the original of Judg. V, 4. Moreover there exist such coincidences between the Song of Moses (Deut. XXXII), the Blessing of Moses (XXXIII), and the XC Psalm as to show at least, that at the time when these writings arose the Mosaic stamp was well known.

CHAPTER IX.

Prophecy in the Time of Joshua and the Judges.

§ 15.

The Song of Deborah.

While the high priesthood after the death of Phineas had no notable representative, the prophets were guardians of Jehovah's honor in word and deed. The farewell addresses of Joshua to the elders of Israel, and to the people in Shechem breathe the prophetic spirit of Moses (Jos. XXIII—XXIV). The short prophetic address (Judg. VI, 8—10) shows how prophecy at that time placed the history of the period under the point of view of the fundamental revelation by Moses. The sublimest prophetic form of the period of the Judges is that of a woman, Deborah, who is called אִשָּׁה נְבִיאָה, and as such is the heiress of Miriam's grandeur. Her triumphal song (Judg. V) gives a clear picture of the period of the Judges both externally and internally. It is a monument of antiquity which disarms all doubt. The prophetic character of this festal song of victory, consists in its referring the servitude of Israel to its religious and ethical cause, and the victory in the struggle for freedom, to the fresh courage which the people took in their God, and to His presence among the combatants. The hidden background of the event is unveiled, but without putting it in the light of its goal, for no eschatological or Messianic word is found in the song.

Remark. Wellhausen (in Bleek's *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin 1878, p. 189) admits the contemporary origin of the song, but denies Deborah's authorship, since he changes עַד שַׁקַּמְתִּי (until I arose) עַד שַׁקָּמַת (until she arose).

§ 16.

The song of Hannah.

Towards the close of the period of the Judges we meet with a woman, not so exalted indeed as Deborah, but all the more

charming. In the hymn (1 Sam. II, 1—10), with which as a happy mother after her long disgrace Hannah praises the Lord in Shiloh, she becomes a prophetess, since she closes with Messianic words which show, how ardently at that time under the lamentable divisions which existed among the people they longed for the firm protection and support of a king who should unite them together. Hannah sees in the mirror of her victory over Peninnah the triumph of her people over their enemies, and her eyes are at last hopefully fixed upon the issue of the divine government of the world (ver. 10):

"Jehovah, His adversaries shall be broken to pieces, it thunders before Him in heaven, Jehovah will judge the ends of the earth, and will grant power to His king and will exalt the horn of His anointed (קֶרֶן מְשִׁיחוֹ)."

Her song is a prelude to the later poetry of the psalms, which revolve around the house of David. Through her son who was the honored instrument of anointing the one as king, who became the sweet psalmist of Israel (2 Sam. XXIII, 1), Hannah was brought into a close relation with the ancestor of the future Christ. Hence the echo of her song in Mary's magnificat (Luke I, 46—54) can only confirm us in the persuasion of its genuineness.

Remark. Wellhausen in Bleek, *Einleitung in das Alte Testament*, Berlin 1878, § 101, affirms that the psalm of Hannah treats of things which do not at all agree with her situation. The weakness of this assumption however appears, when we apply to this song the universal truth, that it is a characteristic of the essence of poetry to place the single event in the light of the idea which appears in it.

§ 17.

The Prophecy of the Fall of Eli's House.

The prophecy (1. Sam. II, 27—36) shows how urgently the period of the Judges looked for a future king, when an unnamed man of God, i. e. a prophet, proclaims the rising of another line of priests after the fall of the house of Eli with these words (ver. 35):

"And I will raise me up a faithful priest (כֹּהֵן נֶאֱמָן), that shall do according to that which is in my heart and in my mind, and I will build him a permanent house (בַּיִת נֶאֱמָן), and he shall walk before my anointed (לִפְנֵי־מְשִׁיחִי) forever."

Eli derived his pedigree from Ithamar, Aaron's second son. The deposition of the sons of Ithamar from the high priesthood was not immediately carried out after Eli's death, for according to

1. Sam. XIV, 3, Ahijah Phineas' son, and a grandson of Eli, bore the ephod of the high priest, and later (1. Sam. XXI, 2; XXII, 9) Ahijah's brother Ahimelech appears as high priest in Nob. First Ahimelech's son Abiathar, who escaped with the ephod to David and shared with him the hardships of persecution (1. Sam. XXII, 20—23), was the last of the sons of Ithamar in the high priesthood. He was deposed when he entered the conspiracy against Solomon in favor of Adonijah, and this deposition was considered according to 1 Kings II, 27 as the fulfilment of God's word against the house of Eli. Hereafter Zadok and in him the line of the sons of Eleazar remained in sole possession of the high priesthood. If now the prophecy had been a *vaticinium ex eventu* Solomon would have been the anointed one intended. But if it is not a fiction, which was assigned to the time of Eli, but really a divine glimpse of the future we are obliged to recognize its ideal character, without looking at the historical details. The anointed is not Solomon, but the ideal king and priest of the future. The promise (1. Sam. II, 35) is primarily realized in all the better Zadokian high priests who stood at the side of the better kings from the house of David. But its ultimate fulfilment is found in the Christ of God, in whom according to Zech. VI, 13 the ideal king and priest do not stand side by side but are united.

Remark. Wellhausen and others maintain that this prophecy is both post-Deuteronomic and Deuteronomic in style. But the style contains also Elohistic elements (compare Ex. XXVIII, 1. 4. 6 and Lev. II etc., respecting the burnt offerings of the children of Israels אִשֵּׁי בְנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל). Eli's patriarchal house is that of Levi and especially of Aaron, and the house of the future faithful priest is not of one who does not belong to the family of Aaron, as Wellhausen maintains [and Smend in his commentary on Ezekiel, Leipzig 1880, p. 362], but of a new line within the house of Aaron [compare Delitzsch's article on the degradation of the Levites in the book of Ezekiel in Luthardt's *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben*, Leipzig 1880, Heft VI]. It is true we might easily suppose that the prophecy had received its present form from the standpoint of the history as fulfilled, but this is certainly not wholly so, for words like those in ver. 32[a] bear the stamp of an original tradition.

CHAPTER X.

Prophecy in the First Royal Period.

§ 18.

Samuel as the Father of a new Age.

The kingdom of Saul was not only preliminary, since it coexisted with the final period of the Judges' authority as vested in Samuel, but it was also a failure. Saul's self-willed behaviour in the war with the Amalekites was the occasion of his dethronement. Samuel announced it to him in weighty language 1. Samuel XV, 22—23, which became the watch-word of subsequent prophecy and psalmody. Without seeing the king again he withdrew to Ramah. Thence he was sent with the anointing horn to the house of Jesse. There in Naioth under his leadership flourished prophecy and music, the spiritual powers which were to glorify the kingdom of promise. There, in the unapproachable retreat of the Spirit's activity, the future king concealed himself from the fury of the present one, for David was already anointed while Saul yet reigned. Thus Samuel was his spiritual father. As soon as David was anointed the Holy Ghost came upon him, and not only as the Spirit of his office, but also as the Spirit of prophecy.

Remark. It is a peculiarity of the Psalms that they recognize the ceremonial observances of the law only so far as they are symbolical. While the legal forms of worship take a subordinate position, the spiritual worship of prayer and obedience is made prominent. The words of Samuel, 1 Sam. XV, 22. 23, can in this respect stand as a motto of the Psalms.

§ 19.

David's View of himself as the Anointed One.

After the Benjaminitish kingdom had proved to be a failure, all the expectations of salvation, with which believing Israel beheld the future, were centered in the new kingdom which was in process

of development. And David, after his anointing, must have appeared to himself all the more significant for the history of salvation in proportion as he was joyfully conscious of the fullest devotion to the ideal of his royal office. Therefore he is aware in all his psalms, that his destiny and that of his enemies, stand, according to the divine decree, in causal connection with the final result of human history, and he prophesies concerning the Messiah, not as an objective person of the future, but as represented by himself, since he regards himself *sub specie Christi*. Hence he is wafted to an ideal height, where he is raised far above the accidental events of his life. God, who made the Old Testament history a prehistory of Christ, has rendered the beginning of the kingdom of promise, rather than other turning-points, even to many seemingly small and fortuitous circumstances, a prefiguration of the full completion of this kingdom. Therefore that which David says respecting the bright and dark side of his life has, even as a true copy of the external reality, christological significance.

Remark. Stähelin, *Das Leben David's*, Basel 1866, manifests no appreciation whatever for the bright side of David's character. On the other hand Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, Frankfort on the Main 1878, p. 262, says both truly and beautifully, that the conception of the position of the king of Israel in a religious light first began with David, and that the kingdom of Israel attained a religious form only as Davidic.

§ 20.

Fusion of Typical and Prophetic Elements in David's Psalms.

But the category of the type does not suffice for the passion-psalms belonging to the two periods of persecution, especially to the one occasioned by Saul. We can only explain the fact that David expresses the excruciating character of his present sufferings, and their glorious result, as well as the cursed fate of his enemies (XXII, 19, 27, compare CIX, 8), on the supposition, that as he regarded himself as the Anointed, his history was idealized for him, that is, deepened and elevated; that the Spirit of God as Christ was in him (1 Peter 1, 11), and that the effusions of his sensibility formed prophetic features of his exalted Antitype. But these typical and prophetic psalms remained a riddle until prophecy by discriminating between a suffering and glorified Messiah, and by uniting the priest with the king in one Christ began to solve the mystery.

Rem. 1. The secret of these typical and prophetic psalms is after all the secret of all poetry. The genuine lyric poet does not give an exact copy of the impressions made upon his empirical *ego*. His ideal *ego*, says Vinet (d. 1847) listens in him as if it were this empirical *ego*, and only this second soul constitutes the poet. We add the Spirit of Christ in David (τὸ ἐν αὐτῷ πνεῦμα Χριστοῦ) is the soul of his ideal *ego*, that is, his second ideal soul.

Rem. 2. Eight psalms are dated expressly from the time of the persecution by Saul: VII; LIX; LVI; XXXIV; LII; LVII; CXLII; LIV. The following may be derived from this period with more or less probability: XI; XIII: XVII; XXII; XXV; XXXI; XXXV; XL; LXI; LXIV; LXIX; CIX. No part of Old Testament prophecy is so often cited in the New as these psalms of David from the time of Saul, especially those of the second group, and particularly Ps. XXII and LXIX. To the time of the persecution under Absalom belong, or appear to belong, the following psalms: III; IV; XXIII; XXVI; LXII; XXXIX; XLI; LV; XXVIII; CXL; LVIII; V; XXVII. Also the beautiful Ps. LXIII is assigned by its superscription to the same period. This is supported by the longing after God's sanctuary which is expressed in it.

§ 21.

David and his Seed as Possessors of the Kingdom of Promise.

After David had brought the ark of the covenant to Zion and had placed it in a temporary tabernacle, he received, towards the end of his reign, when he had determined to build a beautiful temple for Jehovah, a revelation (2 Sam. VII; 1 Chron. XVII), which gives a new and permanent direction to Messianic prophecy. First with the election of David from the tribe of Judah the theocratic relation of Jehovah to Israel found a fitting and visible representative, and the question next arose: Is David the expected king, who is to fully realize Israel's destiny in the midst of the nations, and to be the centre of Jehovah's empire over them all? and if not: Is this king to be looked for in Judah from the race of David, or from that of another? This question is settled by the revelation, which David receives through Nathan, when David's determination to build Jehovah a house is answered with the promise, that He will build David a house, and that David's seed shall be possessors of the royal throne forever. Hence David is not yet the anointed, who will fulfil Israel's destiny, but the promise respecting the distant future gives the assurance that the anointed One shall be a son of David.

Remark. When David received the promise Solomon was not yet born, for it begins (2 Sam. VII, 12):

"When thy days shall be fulfilled, and thou shalt sleep with thy fathers, then

will I raise up thy seed after thee [*prolem tuam post te*], which shall proceed out of thy bowels and I will establish his kingdom."

The idea contained in זֶרַע is general and individual. There is nothing decisive in the twelfth verse against the general signification, but ver. 13 is individual in its application:

"He shall build a house for my name, and I will establish the throne of his kingdom forever (עַד־עוֹלָם)."

The expression עַד־עוֹלָם however carries us beyond the individual limits, for the reign of Solomon, which lasted forty years, is only a part of the illimitable course of time which is intended. That which follows does not apply to this or that Davidic ruler, but to the Davidic rulers as such (vs. 14—16):

"I will be his father, and he shall be my son, whom, if he commit iniquity, I will chastige with the rod of men and with stripes of the children of men" [*virga humana et plagis humanis*, i. e. *modicis*, not peremptorily, but in a fatherly way]. And my mercy shall not depart from him, as I took it from Saul, whom I put away before thee. And thy house and thy kingdom shall be established forever before thee [as an endless line extending from thee into the remotest future]. Thy throne shall be settled forever."

The promises: "*Confirmabo solium regni ejus in aeternum*", and, "*ego ero illi in patrem et ipse erit mihi in filium*, must be fulfilled in the highest sense (*sensu eminentissimo*) in the Messiah of the house of David. But also the promise: *is aedificabit domum nomini meo*, which Solomon applied to himself (1 Kings V, 19; VIII, 17—20) and David applied to Solomon (1 Chron. XXII, 7—10; XXVIII, 10; XXIX, 1), even this promise according to Zech. VI, 12 awaits its final fulfilment in the Messiah.

Rem. 2. David responds to the divine promise with a prayer of thanksgiving (2 Sam. VII, 18 etc.; 1 Chron. XVII, 16 etc.). In the former passage (vs. 18b. 19) he speaks as follows:

"Who am I, O Lord Jehovah? and what (מִי) is my house, that thou hast brought me hitherto? And this was yet small in thine eyes, O Lord Jehovah; but thou hast spoken also of thy servant's house from afar, and indeed after the manner of men, O Lord Jehovah."

The expression וְזֹאת תּוֹרַת הָאָדָם, which probably signifies as we have translated, "and indeed after the manner of men", means: Since thou hast entered with me and my posterity into the relation of a father to his children. Hence the words praise God's deep condescension, for which we find in 1 Chron. XVII, 17: "And thou hast regarded me after the manner of a man of exalted station (כְּתוֹר הָאָדָם הַמַּעֲלָה *ad modum hominis excelsi*, compare הַשַּׂר הַמַּשְׂא 1 Chron. XV, 27). Hence the words are so modified, that not the Divine condescension, but the elevation of the seed of David to God's immediate neighborhood is praised.

§ 22.

David's View of the Messiah as distinct from himself.

After David in the midst of the Ammonitic and Syrian war, when he found himself on the summit of external glory, had fallen

into the twofold sin of adultery and murder, it was natural that his Messianic view of himself should receive a terrible shock. His typico-prophetic psalms, such as XVI and XXII, were all composed before this period. But in Ps. CX, which was written afterwards, and which alludes to the conquest of the Ammonitic capital, he bows, as if he had descended from his throne, before the Christ of God as his Lord. The image of the Messiah here appears separated from David's person. Even the beginning (יְהוָה נְאֻם) shows that we have to do not merely with the utterance of the typical personage prophetically elevated by the Spirit (see § 20), but with an immediate prophecy.

Remark. The phrase נְאֻם יְהוָה, with which the psalm opens rarely stands, as in this case, at the beginning of a sentence, and hence is all the more emphatic (Is. LV, 8, compare I, 24; 1 Sam. II, 30); even, where genitives other than the divine name follow, it has almost an oracular meaning. If this is the case it is evident that it is not the people which speak in this psalm but David, for an oracle which has been received is never reported with נְאֻם, but נְאֻם always introduces something which is perceived at the time by the speaker. Hence the psalm not only bears at the very beginning the stamp of prophecy, but also afterwards; for how could it be possible that the people should be the subject speaking in ver. 4?

"The Lord has sworn and will not repent, Thou art a priest forever after the order of Melchizedek."

Where then had such a declaration been uttered concerning David, to which the people could refer? Whoever is priest after the order of Melchizedek, is priest and king in one person; and he who possesses these dignities forever is the possessor of a royal priesthood which suffers no abridgment through death, but continues abiding in his person always. The Old Testament here stands in contradiction with itself, that is, it points to a future which contradicts the form of the present. This is evident from the interpretation which the prophet Zechariah (VI, 12 etc.) has put upon this psalm. — That which follows in the psalm (vs. 5—10) does not unfold this divine declaration concerning the priest after the order of Melchizedek. It remains isolated, and has only retrospectively a connection with what is said in ver. 3, that the army of this king is clothed in the beauty of holiness. It is therefore a priestly army, and this introduces what is said in ver. 4 of the unique priesthood of its leader.

§ 23.

The last Words of David.

In like manner the last words of David (דִּבְרֵי דָוִד הָאַחֲרֹנִים 2 Sam. XXIII, 1—7) indicate their prophetic character even by their beginning, which reminds us of the oracles of Balaam (Num. XXIV, 3 etc., 15 etc.). David must have been more clearly conscious than

ever of the contrast between the reality and the ideal of the divinely anointed One, as he lay upon his death-bed. Once more all the glory with which God had blessed him comes before his soul. He the highly favored one, who had considered himself immortal (Ps. XVI) must now die! He therefore grasps the pillars of the promise, ceases to connect the Messianic hopes with himself, and as a prophet beholds the future of his seed. His sun goes down that it may rise all the more gloriously. The idea of the Messiah is yet to be realized in his house. The picture of the future (3^b—4) is nothing else than the image of the Messiah, which now has been entirely separated from his subjectivity, and which stands before him as purely objective.

Remark. We translate the passage (2 Sam. XXIII, 1—7) as follows:

"And these are the last words of David. The utterance of David, the son of Jesse, and the utterance of the man who was raised up on high [עַל *altum* as accusative of the direction, like Hosea VII, 16], of the anointed of the God of Jacob, and of the sweet Psalmist of Israel. The Spirit of the Lord hath spoken in me, and his word was upon my tongue. The God of Israel hath spoken, the Rock of Israel hath discoursed to me: A ruler of men, a righteous, a ruler in the fear of God, and as the light of the morning when the sun rises, a cloudless morning, [when] from sunshine [and] from rain green [springs] from the earth. For not small [כִּי־בֵן is to be explained after the analogy of Job. IX, 35, compare Num. XIII, 34; Is. LI, 6] is my house with God, but he hath set an eternal covenant for me, ordered in all things, and kept, for all my salvation and all grace — should he not cause it to spring? [הֲלֹא is to be pronounced interrogatively as equivalent to הֲלֹא]. And that which is nothing worth — like detested thorns are they all together, because they are not taken with the hand; but the man who will touch them arms himself with iron and a shaft [i. e. with a long spear], and they shall be utterly burned with fire in destruction (בַּשֶּׁבֶת from the verbe שָׁבַת to cease, here to cease to be)."

§ 24.

The Psalm of Solomon.

In connection with what has gone before, we need not be at all surprised, when Solomon, in the seventy-second psalm, makes the image of the Messiah, as a precious legacy, which God had placed before the soul of his dying father, and which indeed contains nothing superhuman, his own ideal. The character of this psalm is preeminently optative. It was first composed by Solomon as a public prayer for himself as the new king. It is not directly, but indirectly prophetic, since the wish is expressed that that may be fulfilled in Solomon which is prophesied of the Messiah.

Remark. In ver. 1: "Elohim, thy judgments give to the king, and thy righteousness to the king's son", the article is wanting both times in accordance with the peculiarity of the poetic style. In the words of ver. 6: "He shall come down like rain upon the mown grass, as powerful showers, upon the earth", we recognize an echo of 2 Sam. XXIII, 4. In the closing words (ver. 17): "His name endure forever; so long as the sun shines shall his name bud, they shall bless themselves in him — all nations shall call him blessed [LXX: καὶ εὐλογηθήσονται ἐν αὐτῷ πᾶσαι αἱ φυλαὶ τῆς γῆς, πάντα τὰ ἔθνη μακαριοῦσιν αὐτόν] it is evident that the wishes and hopes are directed to a king in whom that is realized which was promised to Abraham and his seed. But even here the Messianic image of the king is entirely human and corresponds in the three emblematical gifts of the Magi only to the gold, for gold indicates the king, frankincense the heavenly, and myrrh the suffering and dying One (*aurum regem, thus caelestem, mori notat unctio*).

§ 25.

Messianic Glimpses in the Chokma-Literature.

We cannot expect a directly prophetic psalm from Solomon. David had the gift (χάρισμα) of prophecy, Solomon that of wisdom (1 Kings III, 12 and 28, Matt. XII, 42). The age of David is that of struggling faith (πίστις), the age of Solomon is that of self-confident knowledge (γνῶσις). The Proverbs and the Canticles of Solomon, as well as the book of Job, which probably were written in the time of Solomon, belong to the Chokma-Literature (סִפְרֵי חָכְמָה). The book of Proverbs is occupied with the manifold relations of life, and assigns for them rules which are grounded in the fear of God. The book of Job, in the dramatized history of a righteous man, who was not an Israelite, discusses the question respecting the divine motives and purposes in the sufferings of the righteous; and the Song of Songs celebrates the love of man and wife, as Solomon experienced it in its monogamous ideality, in the person of Shulamith, the beloved of his youth. It is not a prophetic book, Solomon is therein only unconsciously a type of Christ, and Shulamith the Galilean a type of the church raised by Him from a humble position to loving communion with Him. It stands in the canon as a typical picture upon a basis which is no less ethical than erotic, without demanding an allegorical interpretation. On the other hand the forty-fifth psalm requires an allegorical interpretation. It views the king, whose marriage it celebrates, in the light of Messianic elevation and destiny, and removed from its historical occasion, demands the translation of all

sensuous features into the supersensuous, according to the spiritual character of the Antitype.

Rem. 1. The Redeemer (גֹּאֵל Job XIX, 23—27) is God himself; but the interpreting angel (מַלְאָךְ מֵלִיץ *angelus internuntius*) in Elihu's address, Job XXXIII, 23 etc., is a prefiguration of the divine and human Redeemer, for the angelic form is the most ancient, which the hope of a mediator of salvation took on. The angel of the covenant of prophecy (מַלְאַךְ הַבְּרִית Mal. III, 1) is the realization of the mediatorial angel postulated by the Chokma.

Rem. 2. According to the traditional interpretation of the Synagogue Shulamith is an image of the congregation of Israel. Solomon however is not an image of the Messiah, but an anthropomorphic representation of Jehovah himself. In this sense every שְׁלֹמֹה of Solomon's Song with the exception of VIII, 11 is considered as קָדֵשׁ that is as an indirect designation (כִּנּוּי) of the God of peace.

Rem. 3. The forty-fifth psalm which has been adopted by the church is no longer a poem celebrating a special occasion, but an advent hymn, in which the future Messiah is greeted and celebrated. In this connection it is worthy of remark that the psalms, as hymns of the church, have received a deeper and a higher meaning than that which they had in their historical origin. Schultz in his *Alttestamentliche Theologie* has an entire chapter on this subject (p. 828—831), which he entitles: "The secondary Meaning of Scripture" (*der zweite Schriftsinn*). From the position of this chapter at the very end of Schultz's book, it might appear, as if this change in the application of the psalms was first effected in the consciousness and worship of the post-exilic congregation, but the expression "to the musical director" (לַמְנַצֵּחַ), which occurs in the superscription of many psalms is pre-exilic. And even in the literature of the period before the exile there are traces of psalms, which had received a different meaning and application.

§ 26.

Gad's Relation to Redemptive History.

The most celebrated representatives of official prophecy in David's period, were Nathan the prophet, and Gad the seer. As Nathan connected Messianic prophecy forever with the house of David, so Gad was instrumental in moulding the history of salvation even till the period of the New Testament, since by directing David to build an altar on the threshingplace of Araunah, the Jebusite, he laid the foundation of the temple upon mount Moriah, in which Israel by prayer and sacrifice honored his God for more than a thousand years. A long pause however now enters in the further extension of the Messianic prophecy. We are acquainted with not a few prophets of the first epoch of the royal period after the division of the kingdom (975—915 B. C.), belonging to both kingdoms, but they are exclusively occupied with the internal affairs of

the kingdom; moreover, for the most part, their addresses no longer exist in their original form, but in the free reproductions of the authors of the books of Kings and Chronicles. These prophets are in all respects the spiritual prototypes and predecessors of the later prophets, but the Messianic idea receives through them a mediate confirmation only so far as they recognize the heirship of the Davidic throne, while in the northern kingdom sovereigns are elevated and deposed, and one dynasty is exchanged for another.

CHAPTER XI.

Messianic Prophecy in the Second Royal Period.

§ 27.

The division of the kingdom formed an epoch in the first period. At the very beginning of the second ~~period~~, which extends from the contemporaneous reigns of Jehoshaphat and Ahab to the contemporaneous reigns of Amaziah and Jeroboam II. (914—811 B. C.), stand the new spiritual flight of Judah in the time of Jehoshaphat, and the Phoenician heathenism of Israel under Ahab. Here also the historical sources make us acquainted with the prophets of both kingdoms only so far as they interfere by promises and threatenings in the history of their own age. Most prominent among these were Zechariah, the son of Jehoiada, and Micaiah, the son of Imlah, whose prophetic words (1 Kings XXII, 17. 19—23) belong to those prophecies which have been preserved in their original form. That even then the range of view was not confined to the present, is indicated by the psalms, which sprang from the wonderful victory, without a battle, which Jahaziel, the Asaphite, announces (2 Chron. XX, 14—17). The Korahitic psalms XLVI—XLVIII look forth upon the conversion of the heathen world and a kingdom of everlasting peace. And that even then ideal Messianic hopes were connected with the kingdom is evident from the forty-fifth psalm, which appears to have been originally an epithalamium upon the marriage of Joram and Athaliah.

§ 28.

The Multitude of Prophets in the Northern Kingdom.

Under the house of Ahab there were in Israel two camps of the false prophets. The first was of those at Dan and Bethel who prophesied in the name of Jehovah, while they worshipped Him

in the form of a steer, whom Ahab gathered together to the number of about four hundred, when he enquired of the Lord whether he should go up against Ramoth-gilead (1 Kings XXII). The second was that of the prophets who were addicted to the Phoenician worship of Baal and Astarte, which was introduced by Jezebel; according to Elijah's enumeration there were four hundred and fifty prophets of Baal, and four hundred of Astarte (1 Kings XVIII, 19). But even the true prophets were much more numerous than in the kingdom of Judah. Obadiah concealed one hundred of them by fifties in two caves (1 Kings XVIII, 4). Most of them were probably sons of the prophets (בְּנֵי נְבִיאִים), for in the Ephraimitic country was the seat of the prophetic schools. Prophecy was there the only institution which kept the kingdom from an entire rupture with the God of revelation; and in accordance with a law of redemptive history, the gifts (χαρίσματα) of the Spirit were multiplied in like degree as the power of the father of lies was developed. The activity of the prophets was mostly confined to practical preaching, for the difference between the prophet and preacher consists only in the immediateness of the impulse from the Holy Ghost. Not all the prophets were elevated, like Elijah and Elisha, to a height which since Moses and Samuel had remained unattainable. Nevertheless Elijah and Elisha had no integral position in the history of the announcement of salvation. They were however instrumental in enabling the kingdom of the twelve tribes still to live on through a long period, which was rich in noble spiritual fruits. In Elijah the prophetic schools secured a second Samuel as their head, and entered again into the foreground of the history. The prophetic activity which was here instituted and tended, was not only an oratorical but also historiographical.

§ 29.

The Rudimentary Character of Obadiah's Prophecy.

The literature of the proper prophetic writings began in this second period with Obadiah's brief prediction against Edom. This prophecy of Obadiah is distinguished from that of Ahijah and others, in its having to do, not with one person but with an entire people. However through the external, sensuous character of that which is beheld as future it appears as only the rudimentary commencement of prophecy. The Israel of the two houses (Jacob and Joseph)

becomes a much greater people than ever before, since a holy remnant (פְּלֵיטָה) which survives the judgment on the nations is strengthened by the return of the captives גָּלוּת (ver. 21):

"And saviours [מוֹשִׁיעִים] shall go up on mount Zion to judge the mount of Esau and the kingdom [הַמְּלוּכָה] shall be Jehovah's."

These saviours are men, who like the heroes of the time of the Judges, take vengeance on the enemies of their people, and the kingdom of Jehovah breaks its way by means of victorious conquest and subjugation. The religious side of the calling of Israel, as well as the spiritual character of the kingdom of God, remains unexpressed, and the concentration of the national hope upon one person, the Messiah, is not yet accomplished.

Remark. According to Graf, *Der Prophet Jeremia*, Leipzig 1862, p. 558 etc., the prophecy of Obadiah is divided into two parts: (1) an older portion (vs. 1—9), which, as Caspari, *Der Prophet Obadia*, Leipzig 1842, has proved, Jeremiah (XLIX, 7 etc.) reproduces; (2) a later portion (vs. 10—21) which arose at the time of the exile, as an enlargement of the original part. We are convinced that even the second part may be explained by the circumstances and consequences of the catastrophe of Jerusalem, which is described in 2 Chron. XXI, 19—17, and to which Joel IV, 1—8 and Amos I, 6—10 refer.

§ 30.

Organism of Joel.

Joram, under whom Obadiah prophesied, was followed by Ahaziah, and then by the dreadful sway of Athaliah. Only Joash the son of Ahaziah escaped the assassins which had been hired by his grandmother. Jehoiada the high priest brought up the prince in the temple and raised him at the age of seven years to the throne. In the first thirty years of Joash's reign, during which, under the leadership of Jehoiada, he served the God of Israel, and cultivated the true worship of Jehovah, Joel appeared. The organism of the book excludes the allegorical interpretation of the locusts, for a quaternion of promises, introduced by the intermediate remark II, 18^b—19^a, corresponds to the plague of the locusts I, 2—II, 17. The promise of the destruction of the locusts (II, 19^b—20) forms the antithesis to the devastation caused by them, and the promise of the early and late rain (II, 21—27) forms the antithesis to the drought. But the prophet raises himself from these promises, with the prophecy "And it shall come to pass afterward" (III, 1 וְהָיָה אַחֲרֵי־כֵן), to higher predictions in the realm of the more remote

future. The outpouring of the Spirit III, 1 etc. forms the antitype to the outpouring of rain, and the destruction of the hostile nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat (III, 3—IV, 21) the antitype to the destruction of the locusts. In response to its humiliation the people receive these great promises through the prophet, whom God had sent to them as an instructor in righteousness (מוֹרֶה לִצְדָקָה II, 23) that is, in accordance with the way of salvation (ל like אֶל 2 Chron. VI, 27). But the highest which Joel's prophetic gift accomplished was in his prophecy respecting the outpouring of the Divine Spirit upon all flesh. That the phrase כָּל־בָּשָׂר cannot be limited to the Israelites, although they are immediately referred to in the expression "your sons" (בְּנֵיכֶם) and that which follows, appears from III, 5[b], where he cites Obadiah (ver. 17) and at the same time supplements him by extending the divine call (κλῆσις) to a of remnant the heathen world. From Obadiah to Joel there is a perceptible progress in the spiritualizing of the expected salvation, but we miss in Joel as well as in Obadiah the concentration of the work of salvation in one human mediator.

§ 31.

The Missionary Book of Jonah.

If we now turn to the kingdom of Israel, which Obadiah mentions only once and Joel not at all, we meet with Jonah, who according to a not improbable tradition, was one of the sons of the prophets belonging to Elisha's school. The book of Jonah also contains no Messianic prophecy, but it is both actually as well as didactically a prelude to the New Testament in the midst of the Old. What Jonah is required to proclaim to Nineveh is no irreversible oracle (מַשָּׂא), but a preaching designed to produce repentance (קְרִיאָה, κήρυγμα), hence the prophet flees and is sulky when his preaching has wrought upon the people. It is precisely the same narrow spirit which was active among the Jews of Pisidian Antioch (Acts XIII, 45—48), and from which even Peter had to be freed by a heavenly vision (Acts X). The book of Jonah is a divine anticipation of the breaking down of the barriers in the announcement of salvation. It is a foreign missionary book in the midst of the Old Testament. All parts of the book are animated and shaped by the idea that the heathen are included in the divine decree of salvation and are the

objects of convicting and converting grace. There is in Jonah's flight and sulkiness an indication of a clear, prophetic view of the future, for he sees that in God's acceptance of the heathen Israel loses his sonship. After Jesus, who was Jonah's antitype, by means of his burial in the grave for three days, had passed through the heart of the earth, he really turned from Israel to the heathen, and the times of the gentiles (καιροὶ ἐθνῶν Luc. XXI, 24) began.

Remark. Whether one believes the miracle of Jonah's preservation in the belly of the fish or not, he must admit, that this book with respect to the age, in which it arose is itself a miracle of the Divine Spirit and that the historical miracle, which is therein related, does not lack the chief criterion of credibility, which consists in its connection with an important end in the history of redemption.

§ 32.

The comforting Conclusion of Amos.

The prophet Jonah still stands in the midst of the second epoch at a time when the Assyrians had to suffer a threatening crisis. The book of Amos conducts us from the second epoch to the third (from the contemporaneous reigns of Uzziah and Jeroboam II until the destruction of Israel in the sixth year of Hezekiah) at a time, when the northern kingdom, after it had become great and mighty through Jeroboam II, was already beginning to sink while Assyria was attaining a new elevation, and Judah was still in a state of decay, into which under Amaziah it had been brought by Jehoash (compare Amos VI, 11; IX, 11 with 2 Kings XIV, 13). The book of this prophet consists of seven parts: the round of judgments upon the nations (I—II), and two trilogies of castigatory and minatory discourses (III, IV, V—VI; VII, VIII, IX). The final discourse, which goes out from the vision of the destruction of Bethel is distinguished in this from all the preceding that it ends in a promise, so that the threatening book closes with reconciliation. The eschatological prophecy is even here as in Obadiah and Joel not yet properly Messianic, for nothing is said about the person of the Messiah. It is prophesied (IX, 11), that the tabernacle of David which is fallen shall be raised up from its ruins. This in its primary signification merely indicates the re-elevation of the decaying dynasty of David, which indeed finds its ultimate fulfilment in Messiah, the son of David. The prediction is applied in this sense by James (Acts XV, 16 etc.), who follows the LXX; and also the old Syna-

gogue (Sanhedrin 76[b]) gave the Messiah from this prophecy the emblematical name בר נפלי (*Bar-Nafli*).

Remark. The indirect Messianic passage of the book (IX, 11) is as follows: "In that day I will raise up the tabernacle of David which is fallen and wall up its breaches, and I will raise up its ruins, and build it as in the days of old." — The house of David is here called סֻכַּת, not בֵּית or אֹהֶל (Is. XVI, 5), because it no longer had the glory of a king's house, and this hut is fallen (נֹפֶלֶת), that is, is in a ruinous condition. Between Amaziah's victory over Edom and Uzziah's elevation to the throne falls the disgraceful chastisement, which Amaziah received through Jehoash king of Israel (2 Kings XIV, 11—14), and in which the threatening parable was fulfilled: "And there passed by a wild beast that was in Lebanon and trode down the thistle." Jehoash marched with the defeated king in triumph into Jerusalem, and, after he had broken down a part of city wall, plundered the town (2 Kings XIV; 2 Chron. XXV). The prophet beholds in the future the re-elevation of the house of David, and what he prophesies is fulfilled by Uzziah but receives its final fulfilment in Christ, after the house of David had sunk still deeper than through Jehoash.

§ 33.

Progress of Messianic Prophecy in Hosea.

The three prophets of the kingdom of Israel, Jonah, Amos and Hosea belong to the beginning, the middle, and the end of the reign of Jeroboam II. Hosea appeared during, the last years of this king and through his prophetic preaching accompanied the kingdom of Israel not only with funereal music, but also with the promise of a resurection. He attaches himself in the arrangement and contents of his book to Amos, whom he quotes (VII, 12 compare Amos IX, 2) and twice undeniably copies (VIII, 14 compare Amos II, 5; IV, 15 compare Amos V, 5); but in the prophecy of the future salvation he goes far beyond him. It is through him that the prospect of Israel's restoration receives from his time the stereotyped form of the hope of another David, that is of a king who is the descendant and Antitype of David. The interpretation of the second marriage into which the prophet is commanded to enter is as follows (III, 4):

"For many days shall the children of Israel dwell without king and prince, and without sacrifice and statue (מַצֵּבָה), and without ephod and teraphim. Afterwards shall the children of Israel convert [יָשֻׁבוּ] and seek Jehovah, their God, and David their king and shall turn with fear to the Lord and to His goodness in the last days" [בְּאַחֲרִית הַיָּמִים].

"The many days" is the long period of the exile, the condition in which the Jewish people is even now. It is still a people, but not a state with a king; it is still a worshipping congregation but without sacrifices; it is so radically estranged from polytheism, that it regards itself, with even too much self-appreciation, as the pillar of monotheism. Thus living in exile it shall at length be seized with a repentant desire for Jehovah, and David its king, that is, as the Targum translates, for the Messiah the son of David, for the king David of the final period is the future Christ (Jer. XXX, 9; Ezek. XXXIV, 23—31; XXXVII, 24—28). Hosea is in this designation of the Messiah the predecessor of Jeremiah and Ezekiel. Jehovah and the second David stand side by side as the heavenly and the historical king, in whom the heavenly king reveals Himself. The entire Old Testament can exhibit no brighter prophecy respecting the conversion of Israel than this companion-piece to Rom XI, 25, but it must be admitted that it receives its full and spiritual signification first in the light of the New. The return of the children of Israel to their king David implies in its primary meaning only the political return which is connected with the religious. That which makes Israel inwardly blessed comes from Jehovah, and that which renders it outwardly happy comes from the second David. The Christ is not yet Jesus, that is, he is not yet the one who saves his people from their sins.

Remark. All the prophets recognize that the northern kingdom exists lawfully (*jure divino*) they see in the division of the kingdom a punitive decree of God respecting the house of David, although not one that is to last forever. Yet Hosea is indeed the first, who gives definite expression to the hope that the Israel of the final period will be one people. But Duhm errs, *Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn 1875, p. 128, when he says, that Hosea is the first, who declares that the existence of a royal house in Israel is illegal or rather sinful and who categorically demands the relinquishement of independency and the return to David. He does not demand it as duty of the present, but he foretells it as a fact which is to be divinely realized in the future.

§ 34.

The typical Prophecies of Hosea.

Hosea also prophesies typically, but this is only recognizable from the standpoint of the history of fulfilment. The typical meaning, which Matt. II, 15 finds in Hos. XI, 1 lies beyond the consciousness of the prophet. The truth of this typical meaning has its justification

in this, that in the history of Christ the history of Israel is recapitulated in its main features; hence VI, 1. 2 is on the same principle as XI, 1 a typical prediction. The prophet hears during the punishement of Israel repentant cries. Israel recognizes in its deathlike condition the divine decree, and musters courage to return to the One who is not less gracious than just:

"Come and let us return unto the Lord, for he hath torn and he will heal us: he hath smitten, and he will bind us up. After two days will he revive us: on the third day he will raise as up, and we shall live before him.

The three days mentioned here are just as typical as the three days of Jonah in the belly of the fish. The difference between the act of "making alive" (ζωποίησις) and that of the "resurrection" (ἔγερσις) is here distinguished in the same way as when Christ burst the bars of death; but the prophecy as such refers to the people, after the second day of whose death a resurrection day follows (Rom. XI, 15). The two days of their death are, in the history of fulfilment, the Assyrian and Babylonian exile and the Roman, in which the Jewish people still is.

Rem. 1. The Lord truly died and therefore entered into the condition of Hades. But his resurrection was preceded by his liberation from this condition, for as ζωποιηθεὶς he manifested himself to the spirits in prison as a victor 1 Peter III, 18. 19.

Rem. 2. In XIII, 14 it is said that Ephraim must descend to death and to the realm of departed spirits before punitive wrath is transformed into redemptive love. In order to punish Ephraim in accordance with his deserts, and as far as possible for his salvation, Jehovah summons Death and Hades to serve Him with their fatal powers, and to rush upon Ephraim:

"From the hand of Sheol will I free them, from death will I ransom them. Where are thy plagues, Death, where is thy pestilence, Sheol? Pity shall hide itself before my eyes!"

Paul quotes this remark in 1 Cor. XV, 55, but the application which he makes of the double ποῦ (in the Hebrew אֵהִי, is dialectically equivalent to אַיֵּה) corresponds neither to the original text nor to the LXX, for in both the words are not an exultant cry over death and Sheol, but a judicial summons to both as executioners of the divine sentence. The apostle however requires no justification through a violent alteration of the meaning of Hosea's words, since he does not mean when he says (1 Cor. XV, 54), "then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written" (τότε γενήσεται ὁ λόγος ὁ γεγραμμένος), that the expression ποῦ σου θάνατε κτλ. will then be fulfilled as a predictive word, but that then that will occur, which these words of the Old Testament, understood as a paean, express.

§ 35.

The pre-Assyrian Period of Isaiah.

Uzziah reigned contemporaneously with Jeroboam II whom he survived about twenty years. In the year that Uzziah died (758 B. C., or perhaps rather later) Isaiah was called, with whom Micah, his slightly younger contemporary, goes hand in hand. The book of Micah is a complete unity, which was written at one sitting, while the Isaianic collection of prophecies leaves the single predictions which have arisen at different periods independent of each other. In I—V we have the summary of the proclamation which was delivered to Isaiah in chapter VI. The world-power, which becomes the instrument of divine punishment, appears at first (V, 26—30) to his prophetic eye only as a shadowy form, without a definite outline (compare Deut. XXVIII, 49). The judicial punishment of the exile is first indicated in as general expressions as possible (VI, 12, compare V, 13). The salvation, for which judgment breaks the way, does not in the first chapter go begond the moderate limit of a restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of the better past. The remnant, which later is called שְׁאֵרִית (XXXVII, 32; XLVI, 3), and פְּלֵיטָה (XXXVII, 32). and which finds in the name of Isaiah's son, שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב (VII, 3), a living emblem, appears here (VI, 13) first only in the enigmatical image of the sprouting stump, and the Messianic prediction in IV, 2 is so sketchy, that the question whether צֶמַח יְהוָה is intended as indicating a person or a thing remains all the while doubtful (IV, 2):

"In that day shall the branch of Jehovah become an ornament and a glory, and the fruit of the land shall become a pride and a boast for the escaped of Israel."

The superlative expression of the antithesis to the prostrate, false glory and to the worldly pride indicates the right interpretation clearly enough. The branch of Jehovah (צֶמַח יְהוָה) is neither the new and better generation of the people, which itself is the remnant (פְּלֵיטָה), nor the blessing of the fields which is never indicated with this solemn name, צֶמַח יְהוָה, although צֶמַח indeed sometimes occurs in a collective signification. Therefore we must understand that the Messiah is intended. He alone like Jehovah (XXVIII, 5) can be called the glory and the pride of the future Israel. We have here the first Isaianic outlines of the Messiah's image as the continuation of the prophecies shows (Jer. XXIII, 5; XXXIII, 15;

Zech. III, 8; VI, 12). According to this פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ (the fruit of the earth, not פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה fruit of the ground) with which XI, 1 and Ezek. XVII, 5 זֶרַע הָאָרֶץ (the seed of the earth) are to be compared is a designation of the Messiah. The former name (פְּרִי הָאָרֶץ) indicates Him as divine and supernatural, the latter (זֶרַע הָאָרֶץ) exhibits the human and natural side of His incarnation.

§ 36.

The decisive Moment under Ahaz.

In the midst of the period of Ahaz, into which the second cycle of prophecies (VII—XII) conducts us, everything is changed; chapters VI and VII are intentionally joined together. In I—V we followed the genesis of the destiny which was decreed in VI, but in VII we see it hastening on to completion. The scene is one of the most momentous turning-points in the history of both the kingdoms of Israel. The complication with Assyria effected by Ahaz lays the foundation for the enslavement of Israel through the world-empire. The world-empire beginning with Assyria becomes the inheritance at one time of this, at another time of that dominant people, finally of the Romans. But its character and Israel's destiny remain similar. While Ahaz's behaviour could not make God's decree of no effect, yet it could not remain without unfortunate consequences. The salvation is realized, as announced in chapters VII—XII in the following complicated manner:

(1) The Syria, of which Damascus was the capital, and the northern kingdom are conquered by Assyria, through an event, which externally considered was brought about by Ahaz's politics, but which was really foreknown by God and adopted into his plan.

(2) Then however Assyria turns against the Israel of both kingdoms. The land is overrun and desolated by the armies of Assyria and Egypt, the two great rival powers. In this period of distress, caused by the fault of Ahaz, the youth of the Messiah falls, the miraculous son of the virgin, whose name is Immanuel.

(3) The war of Assyria against the people of God is finally frustrated in Jerusalem, and upon the ruins of the world-empire arises the peaceful kingdom of the true son of David, ruling the world, and uniting in itself Israel gathered from all parts of the earth.

§ 37.

The Son of the Virgin.

The image of the Messiah, which was hitherto without a definite outline, here becomes a richly colored painting of a clearly defined person, and the ideal king of the future who was previously described as purely human has not only a supernatural but a superhuman side. His entrance into earthly existence is a sign, and according to the connection something extraordinary. When therefore the prophet says (VII, 14):

"Behold a virgin is (shall be) with child, and bears a son and calls his name Immanuel", it cannot mean that his wife, or the wife of Ahaz, or any virgin which he happened to see should be with child, for pregnancy and delivery in the natural way is no sign (אוֹת). One might argue with Reuss and Duhm that the sign was not in the pregnancy, but in the child itself as a token of the Assyrian tribulations which were connected with its growth. But this interpretation is refuted by IX, 5—7; XI, 1—10. The progress, which we see in these passages, from conception to birth, and to the beginning of the dominion is strikingly evident. If IX, 5 and XI, 1 are Messianic predictions, then VII, 14, as the first link in this chain, is also a Messianic prediction. A comparison confirms this, for "God with us" (עִמָּנוּאֵל) corresponds to the name "mighty God" (אֵל גִּבּוֹר IX, 5), which is given to the new born child as the embodied presence of God among his people; and that אוֹת is really a miraculous sign is confirmed by the name "Wonderful" (פֶּלֶא *miraculum*), which there opens the series of names. The word הָעַלְמָה however has the article, because the prophet has a virgin in view, whom the Spirit of prophecy places before his eyes. The word in itself signifies only a marriageable maiden, from עָלַם *pubescere*, to attain the age of puberty, as בְּתוּלָה the one who is still unmarried from בָּתַל *separare*, so that therefore the translation ἡ νεᾶνις (Aquila Symmachus Theodotion) is etymologically more exact than ἡ παρθένος (LXX). But both names usually indicate a virgin, as e. g. Rebekah (Gen. XXIV, 43) and Miriam (Ex. II, 8). That the thought of a man is distant in this connection is indicated in the form of the expression, since the mother is to give the child his name; the prophecy in this respect is a mystery of no private interpretation οὐκ ἰδίας ἐπιλύσεως 2 Peter I, 20. 21. From the

substance of the sign we must further discriminate the prophecy which is connected with it. The sign consists in the divinity of the child and, as is indicated, in the wonderful manner of his birth. The prophecy which follows is not the miracle itself, and since it makes the miraculous child its object, it comes under the law of foreshortening in perspective, to which every prophetic view is subject. Isaiah beheld the ripening youth of Immanuel together with the Assyrian tribulations. The truth of the prophecy consists in this, that Immanuel, whose birth is a sign, will grow up at a time when the house of David and the Holy Land under the oppression of the world-power have sunk to the lowest depth, and that he will raise his kingdom upon the ruins of the world-power. Hence the prophecy presents two aspects. The terrible side of the prophecy is only for the unbelieving king, who has conjured up the complication of Israel with the world-empires, while the believers, who view the other side, find it full of comfort.

§ 38.

Birth of the Royal Child.

The prophecy respecting the son of the virgin represents him as living in the time of the Assyrian oppression. In IX, 5—6 the prophecy recedes a step behind the first (VII, 14) in order to overtake it from that point. The prophet rejoices as if by the cradle of the royal child; he recognizes in him the victorious and glorious heir of the Davidic throne, and is jubilant at the future which awaits him, as if it were an accomplished fact (ver. 5):

> "For unto us a child is born, unto us a son is given, and the government shall be upon his shoulder, and they shall call his name Wonderful, Counsellor, mighty God, everlasting Father, Prince of Peace."

After the phrase "they shall call his name" follow five predicative accusatives which are dependent upon וַיִּקְרָא. The first name פֶּלֶא indicates him as a wonder, that is, as an extraordinary appearance begond the range human comprehesion and of natural events. The second name יוֹעֵץ Counsellor names him as the king (Micah IV, 9) who in every condition of his people knows how to find and secure counsel, for he possesses the Spirit of counsel (XI, 2). The third name אֵל גִּבּוֹר is, Deut. X, 17 and elsewhere, the name of God: *deus fortis*. The Messiah receives this name as the human self-representation of the

God who is able and willing to help, just as he is called Immanuel as the embodied presence of God among his people. The fourth name אֲבִי־עַד signifies eternal Father (*pater aeternitatis*, which is equivalent to *pater aeternus* compare עַד in the genitive relation XLV, 17; LVII, 15); He is called Father according to XXII, 21 as a ruler who has a fatherly heart, and that too eternally. The fifth name is שַׂר־שָׁלוֹם. Prince of Peace. He is the Antitype of Solomon. This name stands last significantly, as the three blessings of the Aaronitic benediction end in שָׁלוֹם (Num. VI, 24—26). Peace שָׁלוֹם is the seventh word of the third benediction (יִשָּׂא יְהוָה פָּנָיו אֵלֶיךָ וְיָשֵׂם לְךָ שָׁלוֹם); for seven is the number of the sabbath, and of completeness. Peace is the end and the fruit of his dominion. The five names are emblematical expressions of the being of the person, and of the work of the future One, whose Parousia is indicated (ver. 6), as the result of Jehovah's zeal in His love for His people, and in His wrath against their enemies.

Rem. 1. Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, Frankfort on the Main 1878, 2nd ed., p. 727, explains the fourth name, in agreement with Hitzig, Knobel, and Kuenen, as "father of booty", that is, as one who secures a victory rich in spoil for his people. It is true that this interpretation is consistent with the context, since the father of booty is fittingly followed by the prince of peace: *per bellum ad pacem*. Moreover Isaiah uses the word עַד in the signification of booty XXXIII, 23. But where עַד is the second member of the construct state it has the attributive sense of *aeternus*.

Rem. 2. It is admitted by Kuenen, as also by Anger and others, that אֵל גִּבּוֹר signifies mighty God, but with the remark, that he is not so named as a supernatural personality, but as one eminent among men like a powerful God, so that here we must understand the preposition of similarity (כְּ), which stands in Zech. XII, 8 (וּבֵית דָּוִיד כֵּאלֹהִים). But the primitive history bears witness to an angel of God, who himself also is called God (Gen. XXII, 11—12; Ex. III, 2. 4. 6. 14), and who speaks as if he were God (Gen. XXXI, 11. 13), in whom therefore God is immanent. Why should not then the Old Testament faith have hoped for a Messiah, as a man, in whom God dwells after a unique manner?

§ 39.

The Shoot from the Stem of Jesse.

The third part of the great Messianic trilogy XI, 1—10 is the counterpart to the fall of Assyria. The prophet sees immediately after this the glory of the final period arising:

"And there shall go forth a rod from the stump of Jesse, and a sprout from his root shall produce fruit."

While Assyria, which is compared to the forest of Lebanon, is cut down with the axe of divine justice, a fresh and strong sprout (נֵצֶר) shoots forth from the stump of Jesse, which is an image of the Bethlehemitic house in its sunken and lowly condition, and becomes a fruitful tree. All the seven spirits of God (Rev. I, 4; IV, 5; V, 6) that is, the Holy Ghost in the entire fullness of His being and working, rest *charismatically* upon the second David. In these seven gifts of the Spirit we have the application of the emblem contained in the holy candlestick (Ex. XXV, 37, compare Zech. IV, 2). He does not judge — as he is further described — according to the outward appearance, but according to the relation of the heart to God. His righteous government concerns especially the poor and the meek. He secures them justice, and on the contrary "smites the earth with the rod of his mouth, and slays the wicked with the breath of his lips". If we compare with this passage Deut. XXXII, 42; Ps. LXVIII, 22; CX, 6; Hab. III, 13. 14, together with 2 Thess. II, 8 (τότε ἀποκαλυφθήσεται ὁ ἄνομος, ὃν ὁ κύριος Ἰησοῦς ἀναλώσει τῷ πνεύματι τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ), we have an indication that the apostasy of the earth will finally culminate in the Antichrist. The continuation of the description, among the other virtues of the second David, emphasizes together with his righteousness especially his faithfulness (אֱמוּנָה). He is "the true and faithful witness" and the fruit of his righteous, gentle, and promised reign will be peace which extends to the animal world. We must here discriminate between the truth and its pictorial form. Moreover we must consider, in order to appreciate this idyllic picture, that in the Old Testament prophecy the paradisaically renewed Holy Land and the glorified new world flow together, as if in the continuation of time. The prophet describes, without being able to discriminate the temporal from the eternal, the endless end in which human history terminates. The root of David (ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ, Rev. V, 5; XXII, 16) will than be the banner to which the gentiles turn, and around which the diaspora of Israel gathers. The earth will be full of the knowledge of the Divine revelation as the waters which cover the sea, and the end will be peace between Judah and Israel, peace between Israel and the nations, peace of the natural world in itself and with men. Yet the prophet (in vs. 13. 14) does not get farther than the warlike images which the contrast to the present furnishes.

Remark. The great prophecy (IX, 5. Sept. ver. 6) remains unapplied in

the New Testament. In its form as given in the Septuagint translation (ὅτι παιδίον ἐγεννήθη ἡμῖν υἱὸς καὶ ἐδόθη ἡμῖν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐγενήθη ἐπὶ τοῦ ὤμου αὐτοῦ, καὶ καλεῖται τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ Μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος· ἄξω γὰρ εἰρήνην ἐπὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ ὑγίειαν αὐτῷ) it could not be applied by the New Testament writers. The ordinary text of the Septuagint offers as the name of the Messiah only μεγάλης βουλῆς ἄγγελος as the translation of פֶּלֶא יוֹעֵץ אֵל. Another rendering is that of the Codex Alexandrinus, which translates אֵל גִּבּוֹר with ἰσχυρὸς ἐξουσιαστής, and has retained the ἄγγελος from the received text as the designation of the one giving the name. But from the prophecy in chap. XI are derived in the New Testament: (1) the designation of Christ as ὁ μάρτυς ὁ πιστὸς καὶ ἀληθινός in the Revelation, whereas the Amen (ὁ ἀμήν) is to be compared with "the faithful God" (אֱלֹהֵי אֶמֶן Is. LXV, 16), and is attested by Jesus' formula of asseveration ἀμὴν λέγω ὑμῖν which in the fourth Gospel is ἀμὴν ἀμὴν λέγω υμῖν; (2) ἡ ῥίζα Δαυείδ (Rev. V, 5; XXII, 16); (3) the metaphor of the staff of his mouth which is embodied in Rev. I, 16, compare 2 Thess. II, 8; (4) from the expression concerning the sevenfold Spirit which rests upon the Son of David have arisen the ἑπτὰ πνεύματα (Rev. I, 4) which appear as seven lamps before God's throne (IV, 5), and as the seven eyes of the Lamb (V, 6).

§ 40.

The King in Zion as the Son of God.

The anonymous second psalm, which harmonizes in spirit and circumstances with Is. VII—XII is a companion-piece to Is. IX, 5. The poet living at a time when the throne of David totters, is here, for the comfort of himself and his contemporaries, transported into the future, where the nations of the world rise together against the Lord and His Anointed, but without being able to effect anything against God's immovable order. The One who is seated on Zion says in ver. 7 of this dramatically arranged psalm:

"I will make proclamation concerning a decree, Jehovah hath said unto me, Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee." We can translate יְלִדְתִּיךָ either as "begotten" (γεγέννηκά σε, LXX) or as "born" (ἔτεκον, Aquila). A supernatural exertion of power is here intended, through which God has transferred him to the divine glory. The phrase "this day" is equivalent to the σήμερον of the New Covenant, and is according to Acts XIII, 33, compare Rom. I, 4 the resurrection day (*dies regalis*), for the resurrection was the translation of Christ from the life in the form of a servant to the life of glory. The poet calls to the earthly potentates "Kiss the Son". The indeterminate form בַּר (ver. 12) indicates him as a son in a unique manner. From this psalm has arisen the figure

of the shepherd of the nations with an iron sceptre (Rev. XIX, 15; XII, 5), and the name of the Son of God as a designation of the Christ has here received, on the basis of the promise in 2 Sam. VII, an enduring stamp.

Remark. The words נַשְּׁקוּ־בַר are not to be translated otherwise than "kiss the son" (*osculamini filium*) as appears from the following considerations: (1) Jehovah has just solemnly declared that the anointed is His Son; (2) the word נָשַׁק indicates an act of homage (1 Sam. X, 1); the kissing of the feet is in the old Babylonian and Assyrian inscriptions uncommonly frequent as indicating homage; (3) other translations are linguistically impossible. The old Latin version (Itala) and the Vulgate, that is, the revised edition of the Itala by Jerome translate the phrase: *apprehendite disciplinam.* The translation in the *Psalterium Romanum,* which became a portion of the Missal, and in the *Psalterium Gallicanum,* which became a part of the Breviary and of the Vulgate, is the same. Hitzig's rendering is similar: "*Füget euch der Pflicht*". In order to justify this translation we would need to read בּוּר, which however neither signifies *disciplina,* nor *Pflicht,* but merely purity. Jerome in his independent translation from the original renders the words by *adorate pure,* but there is no authority in the Old Testament for this adverbial meaning of בַּר as *pure,* nor does נָשַׁק signify *adorare.* Hence Hupfeld translates the words: "*Füget euch aufrichtig*", but granting that the Kal נָשַׁק can have this signification "to submit oneself (*sich fügen*)", yet it is impossible that the Piel נִשֵּׁק should have this meaning, since it signifies only to press mouth upon mouth, hence to kiss.

§ 41.

The Messianic Element in Isaiah's Book upon the Nations.

In the Isaianic cycle of predictions respecting the nations XIII—XXIII), prophecies from the Assyrian period threatening judgments against the nations are intermingled in a systematic way with those from the Babylonian period, the genuineness of which is disputed as well as that of the second half of the oracle concerning Egypt (מַשָּׂא מִצְרַיִם XIX, 16 etc.). If we take this cycle of predictions as the production of one Spirit, without entering into any critical analysis, we shall find the following fundamental thoughts, which here have a manifold expression:

(1) Assyria goes to pieces in its attack upon Zion, for Jehovah's city and land when they hold fast to Him are unconquerable.

(2) Babylon's fall will be the restoration of Israel, for the salvation and glory which are promised the people of God are fulfilled in spite of the exile and of all divine chastisements.

(3) The peoples which have freed themselves from the Davidic dominion, and in general the nations which are now hostile to Israel will be subject to the God of Israel.

In the passage, where the prophet proclaims the resuscitation of the house of David he gives intimations of the future king (XVI, 5), whose emblem is the winged serpent (שָׂרָף XIV, 29), but the Messianic prophecies take a lower flight after the death of Ahaz (XIV, 28). On the other hand the view of the entrance of the nations into Jehovah's kingdom reaches a higher point. The Ethiopians are to be brought as a consecrated offering to God who is throned upon Zion (XVIII, 7). The two great powers, which now contend for the dominion of the world, and by which Israel is alternately abused and enslaved, Egypt and Assyria, shall unite with Israel in the service of the God of revelation. The Old Testament prophecy does its utmost in XIX, 24—25. In the truly humane words of Solomon (1 Kings VIII, 43) Israel always remains in distinction from other peoples the people of God, but here the name of God's people has lost its exclusiveness, and in spite of the national dress, which even in this passage prophecy has not put off, it raises itself above the narrow boundaries which separate it from other peoples, and presents the prospect of the time when the barriers which exist between the nations and the people of the revealed religion shall be broken down.

Rem. 1. In XIV, 29 Philistia is threatened:

"Rejoice not so entirely, Philistia, because the rod that smote thee is broken, for out of the serpent's root shall go forth a basilisk, and his fruit is a flying serpent [*draco volans*]." — The serpent which is cut off, from which only a stump remains is the decayed house of David. The basilisk is Hezekiah, and the flying serpent is the Messiah, or perhaps in general the Davidic kingdom of the ultimate future.

Rem. 2. The Moabites, anxious in respect to the invasion from Assyria, appear at the fords of the Arnon and present a petition to the house of David for protection, for which they assign the reason in XVI, 5:

"A throne is established in mercy: and there sits upon it in truth, in the tabernacle of David, One who judges and seeks judgment and is eager for justice." — These words without any doubt indicate that the Messianic age has dawned; for grace and truth are the insignia, and, as it were, the Genii of this period.

Rem. 3. The unique passage Is. XIX, 24—25, with which perhaps Ps. XLVII, 10 (The princes of the people are gathered together as a people of the God of Abraham, for the shields of the land are God's, He manifests Himself as greatly exalted) may be compared, is as follows:

"In that day shall Israel be the third part with Egypt and Assyria, a blessing

in the midst of the earth [compare Gen. XII, 2. 3], since the Lord of Hosts blesses it, saying: Blessed is my people Egypt, and the work of my hands Assyria, and my inheritance Israel." — Egypt and Assyria will be united in Jehovah, and Israel will be the third in the covenant. Israel is then no longer God's only people, creation and inheritance, but Egypt and Assyria stand on equal terms with Israel.

§ 42.

The Finale of Isaiah's Book upon the Nations.

The conclusion (XXIV—XXVII) of the book respecting the nations belongs no less to the noblest performances of Old Testament prophecy than the passage XIX, 24—25. The form in which the prophecy in XXIV—XXVII clothes itself is both epic and lyric. The prophet utters his predictions mostly in songs from the heart of the redeemed congregation, and the mimetic and musical sound, together with the hymnological formation are the incomparable dress of incomparable thoughts. All that is apparently historical in these chapters is emblematic, and affords as in Zech. IX—XIV only the colors to eschatological pictures. The kingdom of God triumphs over the world-empire and all the world. The church purified through judgment will, as she is holy, be also glorious. The God of Revelation will from that time on be feared by all nations. The dead will arise. Death and sin will cease forever. It is the entire New Testament Apocalypse, which we here have before us, in a compendium. That nothing is ever said in this place concerning the person of the Messiah is explainable from the fact, that the future son of David who is solely set forth as a king is not adapted to be the mediator of such an internal and radical redemption. The one-sided royal image of the Messiah needs to be supplemented, and thereby to be transposed into the sphere of the universally human, spiritual, and divine elements, in order to be conformed to the redemption which is so universal, and so profoundly conceived.

§ 43.

Isaiah's Prophecy concerning the Precious Corner-Stone.

In Isaiah XXVIII—XXXIII we find ourselves again upon historic ground. Chapters XXVIII—XXXII arose in the first six years of Hezekiah, for chapter XXVIII begins like the book of

Micah with the proclamation of the fall of Samaria. At that time the effort was made to restore that which the politics of Ahaz had destroyed, but if Ahaz sought the aid of Assyria in the war against Syria and Ephraim, the attempt was now made to shake off the yoke of Assyria with the help of Egypt. Isaiah follows this projected alliance through all its stages with annihilating criticism, and, since he prophesies the confounding of their self-made hope, he affords in XXVIII, 16 a better ground of confidence:

"Therefore thus saith the Lord Jehovah: Behold it is I, who have laid in Zion a stone, a tried stone, a precious corner-stone of a well grounded foundation — the believer will not flee." — The fundamental thought of this group of predictions is that Egypt will not help, but the only pledge that the house and people of David will not go down is the word of Jehovah alone, who is the unshaken supporter and protector of His people, and who exercises an energy which indeed is invisible, but which is recognized and found true by the eye of faith. The adverb "therefore" (לָכֵן XXVIII, 16) is aimed just as threateningly as in VII, 14 against the despisers of the help of Jehovah. The stone laid by Him in Zion, which is praised in such high and superlative terms, upon which and through which Zion is firmly established (compare XIV, 32) cannot be any one else than the real son of David. The retrospective perfect יָסַד is to be explained in accordance with Micah V, 1^{b}. He, the stone, is the emblem of that which in VII—XII is called Immanuel as the refuge of His people. But first the people of God must go down before they arise through Him. In chapter XXXIII when Sennacherib was already raging in Judah and the best of the people with Hezekiah at their head penitently cried to Jehovah for help, reproof and threatening suddenly turn against Assyria, and the prophet calls to the true people of God, to whom the divine promise belongs (XXXIII, 17):

"The king in his beauty shall thine eyes behold, they shall see a land stretching far away." — Is this the same king whom Micah beholds as the counterpart to the one smitten on the cheek, or does the promise refer to Hezekiah? In the presence of this pious king the image of the Messiah does not shine so brightly as in the presence of an Ahaz, but in connection with XXVIII, 16; XI, 1, compare Ps. XLV, 3 (יָפְיְפִיתָ מִבְּנֵי אָדָם) it is probable that no less a person than the second David can be intended.

§ 44.

Progress of Messianic Prophecy in Micah.

Turning now from Isaiah, who was called in the year that Uzziah died and whose public activity continued until nearly the end of the reign of Hezekiah, to Micah we go back about a decade for the book of Micah is an abridgment of his preaching from the time of Jotham until towards the sixth year of Hezekiah (I, 1, compare ver. 6; Jer. XXVI, 18—19). If now we look at Micah in relation to Isaiah, leaving out of account the controverted prophecies, we shall find in him a mass of prophetic knowledge going far beyond that in Isaiah; for

(1) he predicts not only the Babylonian exile, but also the deliverance from it;

(2) although he calls the world-empire by the historical name as known in his age, Assyria (V, 4), yet in his view Zion and Babylon are opposite poles (IV, 10). He considers Babylon as the metropolis of the world, as the centre of the land of Nimrod (V, 5), the enemy of Israel (VII, 8. 10);

(3) while Isaiah beholds the rise of Messiah's kingdom in connection with the fall of Assyria, Micah sees the kingdom of the Messiah (IV and V, compare II, 12. 13) established after the Babylonian exile.

§ 45.

Connection of the Messianic Hope with Bethlehem.

Even in II, 13 Micah indicates the Messiah as the One who breaks the bonds of Israel, who leads it as a reunited people to victory, but the prediction becomes much more definite, when the picture of the redemption which the second David brings to his people is contrasted with the deepest humiliation which Jerusalem must experience with its present king (V, 1):

"And thou Bethlehem Ephrātah, too small to be reckoned among the thousands of Judah, out of thee shall he go forth to me, who is to be ruler over Israel, and his goings out are from old from the days of remote antiquity." — As Micah in IV, 8 addresses the tower of the flock, so here he addresses Bethlehem. He loves to place himself with reference to the objects of which he

treats in the dramatic relation of "I" and "thou". He names Bethlehem particularly in order to make the appropriation of the promise more definite, solemn, and documentary (as Christ Matt. XVI, 17, adresses Peter by his full name Simon Bar-jona). He could have said Bethlehem Judah, for thus it is distinguished from Bethlehem in the tribe of Zebulon; but he says Bethlehem Ephrātah, because the name Ephrātah awakens so many remimscences from the primitive history of Israel (Gen. XXXV, 16) and the Davidic kingdom (Ruth IV, 11). The reason why he sets אַתָּה for אַתְּ is perhaps because from the outset he considers Bethlehem as an אֶלֶף, that is, as a subordinate division of the tribe of Judah, but he says that properly it should not be counted under the thousands of Judah (אַלְפֵי יְהוּדָה) because it is too small, nevertheless it is destined to become the tribal house of the great king rather than the royal city of Jerusalem; for when he enters into existence, the continuity of the Davidic kingdom will have suffered a violent humiliation and interruption. But from the lowliness of this small, ancestral place that kingdom will be rejuvenated. He who will go forth from Bethlehem is the One who was intended from the beginning of the promise respecting royal dominion. He is the One who was in the process of coming ever since the patriarchal promise, that kings would arise from the seed of Abraham. The words from the old time etc. (מִקֶּדֶם מִימֵי עוֹלָם) do not indicate a time before the creation of the world (compare Prov. VIII, 22: קֶדֶם מִפְעָלָיו מֵאָז), but as VII, 14 and 20 show an age in the primitive period of the people's history is intended. In ver. 2 a retrospective conclusion is drawn from the fact that the great king will be of such lowly origin:

"Therefore he will then give them up until the time that she that travaileth hath brought forth, and the remnant of his brethren shall return with the children of Israel." — The brethren of the great king are from Judah, who returning to their native land again, shall form one people with Israel, but they will first be given up into the hand of the world-power, and this resignation will last until the time when she that travaileth, namely the decreed mother of the Messiah, shall have borne. The prophet here and in what follows beholds the work of the Messiah as it really will be in its completion, yet does not discriminate between the Parousia in humility and the Parousia in glory. The Messiah is the future king who rules over the restored Israel of both kingdoms from Zion (IV, 8) even to the ends of the earth.

Remark. The promise II, 13 is as follows:

"The Breaker goes up before them, they break through, and pass over through the gate [Is. LXII, 10], and have gone out by it, and their king goes over before them, and Jehovah at their head." — The פֹּרֵץ is Messiah as the one who breaks through the prison, in which the people are confined. The Synagogue is fond of calling the Messiah, as the descendant of Perez son of Judah, בֶּן־פֶּרֶץ, since this name at the same time alludes to this prediction of Micah (compare the synagogical name of the Messiah בַּר־נַפְלֵי from Amos IX, 15 and עֲנָנִי Dan. VII, 13).

§ 46.

Habakkuk's Theodicy.

The prophets have the Spirit of God by measure (ἐκ μέτρου). Micah is on a small scale after the same pattern as the great Isaiah. Nahum's prophecy has only a limited theme. It is a majestic conclusion to the prophetic writings directed against Assyria. Habakkuk of the kingdom of Judah, who is paired with Nahum of the kingdom of Israel, belongs like him to the prophets of the Isaianic type. Nahum prophesies at the end of Hezekiah's reign or at the beginning of Manasseh's, Habakkuk prophesies under Josiah or even under Manasseh. The fundamental thoughts of his book are as follows:

(1) There are two kingdoms in conflict: the kingdom of this world, whose ruler is the king of Chaldea, and the kingdom of God whose ruler is God's anointed.

(2) The Parousia of Jehovah helps God's Anointed to the victory.

(3) The believers (II, 3) long for this completion of God's work in the course of history, when the period previously determined (מוֹעֵד) has come.

(4) It is faith, which in this conflict of the world against the kingdom of God escapes the danger of destruction and which in the midst of death participates in life. — The book of Habakkuk is an oracle (מַשָּׂא) respecting Babylon for the comfort of believers and in so far a theodicy, a dialogue between the prophet and God. Twice the human question is repeated (I, 2—4. 12—17), and twice the divine answer (I, 5—10; II). These four (2+2) parts are followed by a psalm as a fifth, proceeding from the first and second answer. Here in ver. 13 God's Anointed is named, as in Zech. IX, 9 as the one for whom Jehovah secures salvation, or victory. But the question arises, whether the Messiah of the final period is

intended. The Septuagint makes the Messiah the subject in II, 3^b: ἐὰν ὑστερήσῃ, ὑπόμεινον αὐτόν, ὅτι ἐρχόμενος ἥξει καὶ οὐ μὴ χρονίσῃ, and the passage in Hebr. X, 37 follows this version. But according to the meaning of the words and the connection the subject is properly neither Jehovah, nor His Christ, but the חָזוֹן, nevertheless the vision according to its concrete contents is intended.

§ 47.

Zephaniah's Compendium of Isaianic Prophecy.

If Habakkuk was one of the prophets under Manasseh (2 Kings XXI, 10—15) who foretold the inevitable catastrophe which was to befall Jerusalem, so likewise Zephaniah was one of the prophets under Josiah, whose minatory prediction (2 Kings XXIII, 26—27) is made the dreadful conclusion of the pious king's history. He appeared after the eighteenth year of Josiah, the year of the reformation in worship, and since he proclaims the fall of Nineveh, before the year 606 B. C. His book is the conclusion of the Isaianic type of prophecy, which is here once more reduced to a compendium. After chastisement comes mercy, for which it prepares the way. When the cup of wrath is drained, love is poured forth. Its turning-point is fixed by אָז (III, 9). In the description of the restoration of Israel the prophet excells himself in the tenderest expressions, and discourses concerning God in the anthropomorphisms of human love; but the person of the Messiah does not once appear, the divine king recedes before God the King (III, 15):

"Jehovah hath removed thy judgments, He hath cast out thine enemy. The King of Israel, Jehovah is in the midst of thee, thou shalt not see evil any more." — For so long as the Messiah is not yet recognized as the mediator of salvation the Messianic hope necessarily recedes before the hope of the appearance of Jehovah, the God of salvation.

Remark. The prophet begins III, 9 with a confirmatory כִּי: while Jehovah punishes the nations, He has their salvation in view:

"For then will I turn to the nations a pure lip, that they may all call upon the name of Jehovah, to serve Him with one consent [שְׁכֶם אֶחָד]." — The promise immediately follows III, 10 that the converted heathen will accompany the diaspora of Israel back into the Holy Land:

"From beyond the rivers of Ethiopia they shall bring my suppliants, the daughter of my dispersed, as my offering." — Here without doubt ver. 10^a

is derived from Is. XVIII, 7, and ver. 10b is like an abbreviation of Is. LXVI, 18—20, where we read in ver. 20:

"And they shall bring all your brethren from all the nations, for an offering unto Jehovah . . . . to my holy mountain Jerusalem saith Jehovah, as the children of Israel bring an offering in a clean vessel into the house of Jehovah."

§ 48.

The Vocation and first Address of Jeremiah.

It is the prophecy of the Isaianic type, which is concentrated in Zephaniah as in a mosaic picture. Jeremiah is, in the time of his appearance, older than Zephaniah, but his activity extends far beyond the time of Josiah. The history of his call in the thirteenth year of Josiah is in all directions a prognostic of his official doing and suffering. He is the prophet of the nations; we find him, like none of his predecessors, in immediate communication with them. In him as in no other tenderness and variety of feeling are interpenetrated with great and enduring strength. His calling is directed rather to tearing down than to building up. In this sad office one suffering after another as a confessor befalls him. He represents more than any of his predecessors and followers, especially in the kingdom of Judah, the martyrdom of the prophets. Even the first address is characteristic. It is like a variation of the three first verses of Isaiah. Deep pain on account of rejected love is its fundamental feature. The book of Jeremiah could not receive a better motto than the mournful words of Jesus: οὐκ ἠθελήσατε (Luke XIII, 34), or νῦν δὲ ἐκρύβη ἀπὸ ὀφθαλμῶν σου (Luke XIX, 42).

§ 49.

Jeremiah's Prediction concerning the Righteous Shoot.

But Jeremiah affords only two utterances for the proper Messianic prophecy. The first is found in the lamentation respecting the shepherds (XXIII, 1—8), which belongs to the time after the deportation of Jehoiachin (ver. 3). The prophet announces (vs. 5—6):

"Behold, the days come, saith Jehovah, that I will raise unto David a righteous Shoot [צֶמַח צַדִּיק], and a King shall reign and prosper, and shall execute judgment and justice in the land. In his days Judah shall be saved and Israel shall dwell safely,

and this is the name with which they will call him, **Jehovah Our Righteousness.**" This prediction is repeated (XXXIII, 14—16), in the midst of the promise of Israel's future restoration, which Jeremiah, when he was imprisoned in the tenth year of Zedekiah by the princes of Judah, received as a divine consolation. The naming of the Messiah as צֶמַח צַדִּיק points back to 2 Sam. XXIII, 3; Is. IV, 2; and his name יְהֹוָה צִדְקֵנוּ is designed to indicate, that Jehovah as just and the one who justifies dwells in him, and reveal's Himself through him; for in XXXIII, 15 the new Jerusalem receives this name as the city in which Jehovah as the source of justice to Israel will have His dwelling (compare Gen. XXXIII, 10; Ex. XVII, 5; Ezech. LVIII, 35). The notion of justice (צֶדֶק or צְדָקָה) has two sides, a legal and an evangelical. It is therefore called either the justice, which rewards men according to their works (*justitia recompensativa* or *punitiva*), or the justice, which exactly follows the decree and order of salvation (*justitia justificans*, compare Rom. I, 17; III, 26). The one side can be called the side of fire and the other the side of light. In the expression: "Jehovah our justice" the justice is meant as the manifestation of the light. In this sense therefore we translate the phrase יְהֹוָה צִדְקֵנוּ "Jehovah our righteousness".

§ 50.

Jeremiah's Consolatory Promises in XXX, XXXI.

After Jerusalem had fallen, Jeremiah was compelled in the midst of the rest of the exiles, and in fetters to migrate with them to Ramah, there however his fortune took a more favorable turn. The decision being left to him, he preferred to remain in the country and betook himself to Gedaliah, son of Ahikam (XXVI, 24), as is related more briefly in chapter XXXIX, and more fully in XL. In the first verse of this chapter the word of Jehovah is introduced, which at that time came to Jeremiah in Ramah, but the prediction does not follow. Without doubt this word of Jehovah is that which is introduced with the same formula in chapters XXX and XXXI consisting of the comforting predictions which the prophet wrote down by the special command of God: respecting Israel's future restoration, the second David, Rachel's lamentation in Ramah because of her departing children, the promise of their future return, and

regarding the new covenant resting upon the forgiveness of sins. We notice here:

(1) That according to XXX, 21 compare XXXIII, 17 Israel from this time has holy and glorious princes, who enjoy special privileges as priests, but who are all far surpassed by the "second David";

(2) That in chapter XXXI, 22: נְקֵבָה תְּסוֹבֵב גָּבֶר the paradox is expressed, that the protection (indicated by סוֹבֵב Deut. XXII, 10; Ps. XXXII, 10) of the men will henceforth be effected by a woman, since a woman will bear the second David and in Him the victorious Defender of His people;

(3) That Jeremiah is the first prophet, who comprehends the future renewal of the covenant under the conception and the name בְּרִית חֲדָשָׁה (XXXI, 31), and who in general makes the covenant the centre of his prophecy as a religious relation founded in love, which excludes wrath (X, 24; XXX, 11; XLVI, 28, where מִשְׁפָּט signifies the federal right) — a relation through which Jehovah binds Himself legally to Israel and binds Israel legally to Him.

(4) That according to the fundamental thought of XXXI, 29—30, 31—34 personality is invested with its rights, since hereafter the individual will be freed from the consequences of the generic connection with which it had hitherto been bound.

The tone of the comforting adresses is to a certain extent quite Deutero-Isaianic. The reproduced passages however, if they are such, do not stand abruptly, but in close connection. We see in XXX, 8—10 how the representation of Israel as עֶבֶד יְהוָה has arisen.

CHAPTER XII.

Messianic Prophecy just before the Catastrophe and during the Exile.

§ 51.

Parallels between Jeremiah and Ezekiel.

Jeremiah entered his prophetic office under Josiah, when the Chaldean catastrophe could no longer be averted. He witnessed it in his own country, and never went to Babylon, but emigrated to Egypt after Gedaliah's assassination with a great company of those who feared the revenge of the Chaldeans. There he delivered his last prophetic addresses (XLIII, 8 etc.; XLIV), and there he disappeared. Ezekiel on the contrary was one of the exiles with Jehoiachin. He experienced the catastrophe with them on the Babylonian Chebar. Five years after the carrying into captivity (594 B. C.) he was called to the prophetic office. Each prophet has, in accordance with the Jewish expression, his own distinguishing mark (סִגְנוֹן). In Ezekiel we find characteristics entirely different from those in Jeremiah. His book is far more pictorial than that of any other prophet. It is, so to say, an *orbis pictus*. Heavenly and earthly things transform themselves to him into plastic pictures, which he not only sketches, but also paints even to the smallest details. His call is unique. The fact that it is God, the judge and omnipotent ruler over the world and in it, who calls him as the prophet of the catastrophe, is established by a vision of unparalleled grandeur. While Isaiah caught up to heaven is called by the One enthroned there who is surrounded by the seraphim, Ezekiel sees the Almighty dwelling in the universe and riding on the wings of the cherubim, who sweeps down to him. What the Psalmist sketches (XVIII, 11) is multifariously expanded in the vision of the chariot (מֶרְכָּבָה, compare 1 Chron. XXVIII, 18). From the fiery chariot which is Jehovah's throne, the fire will come which

is to lay the temple and the holy city in ashes. From it a hand presents a roll to Ezekiel which he is compelled to eat. It is full of woes. But since God assigns him this bitter task, the bitter becomes sweet to him. He is henceforth God's instrument. In this is his duty and at the same time his comfort. The phrase "son of man" (בֶּן־אָדָם) hereafter becomes the divine designation of the prophet, which not only expresses his distance from God and his dependence upon Him, but also the nobility of his divine relationship, for the One throned upon the chariot has a human form.

§ 52.

The Messiah in the Book of Ezekiel.

As the mode of the Messianic prediction is determined elsewhere by the law of contrast so also in Ezekiel, where it shines from the dark background of the present. The Messiah is announced in the following terms:

(1) Generally in contrast to the bad shepherds of that time, as the one good shepherd, whom Jehovah raises up, since he gives himself again to his people and concludes a bond of peace with them (XXXIV, 23). The Messiah is here called עַבְדִּי דָוִיד, but in Jeremiah only דָּוִד or the sprout raised up to David, or the sprout of righteousness.

(2) In contrast to the partition of Israel into two kingdoms, which, separated like two pieces of wood from each other, will again grow together under one shepherd and king who here also is called עַבְדִּי דָוִד (XXXVII, 24).

(3) In contrast to Jehoiachin and Zedekiah (XVII). The Messiah here appears as the tender twig which Jehovah plucks from the cedar of the house of David, plants upon Zion, and causes to grow to a high tree exalted above all the trees of the field, under which the birds of heaven build their nests. This occurs after Jehoiachin, the top of the cedar, has been removed by the Chaldean eagle to Babylon, and Zedekiah, the vine, which languished for the Nile water of the Pharonian eagle, has been rooted up and withered. The expression רַךְ (ver. 22[b]) indicating the insignificant, humble beginning of the Messiah reminds us of Is. XI, 1 and in the form of the expression still more of Is. LIII, 2, as well as of the parable of the mustard seed (Matt. XIII, 31—32).

(4) In contrast to Zedekiah in particular (XXI, 31, 32). The king of Babylon in chapter XXI is represented as standing where two ways part, one of which leads to Rabbath Ammon, the other to Jerusalem. The lot falls upon Jerusalem, the faithless city, which thinks itself protected by its feudal oath. The prophet then turns to Zedekiah with the following words (ver. 30—32):

"And thou pierced one [compare Jer. XXXIX, 7], O blasphemer, O ruler of Israel, whose day has come at the time of the guilt of the end [that is, which summons the final judgment, VII, 2], thus saith the Lord Jehovah: The turban [the royal tiara] will be removed, and the crown will be taken away [this is the real crown, instead of which the king usually wore the tiara as a sign of royalty]. This is not this [i. e. the sign of royalty will be hereafter unlike its former self], the low will be exalted, and the exalted will be brought low. [The four infinitives are used as plastic expressions for future events]. Overthrow, overthrow, overthrow [compare Jer. XXII, 29] will I bring upon it [tiara and crown, i. e. the kingdom], it also [namely the crown, as well as the temple, city, prosperity, and possession of the land] shall be destroyed [לֹא הָיְתָה as ver. 18; Is. XV, 6; Job. VI, 21], until he comes to whom the government belongs [הַמִּשְׁפָּט like Hos. V, 1], and I give it." — The prophet here alludes to Gen. XLIX, 10, since he understands שִׁלֹה in the sense of שֶׁלּוֹ, like most of the old translators, and interprets it exactly like Onkelos and the second Jerusalem Targum עַד דְּיֵיתֵי מְשִׁיחָא דִּידְלֵיהּ הִיא מַלְכוּתָא. We are not therefore compelled to consider this as the original sense of שִׁלֹה, but there are three things which are evident from this old interpretation: (1) that Ezekiel regarded these words of the blessing of Jacob as a Messianic prophecy; (2) that he did not have the form שִׁילֹה, but שִׁלֹה in his text; (3) that even at a very ancient period this שִׁלֹה was understood in the sense of *cujus est* (*regnum*) as a designation of the Messiah.

§ 53.

The Idea of the Servant of Jehovah in its Genesis.

The mass of Israel fell in the exile into heathenism. There is no greater error than when it is supposed that in the exile all Israel became dead to idolatry. The great mass rather perished in

it. Ezekiel testifies to the idolatrous lusts which the exiles had in common with their compatriots from Jerusalem and Judea. The book of Isaiah (XL—LXVI) affords us still deeper glimpses into the circumstances of the exile. The national consciousness, and the love springing from it for their fellow-countrymen, was almost entirely extinct among a portion of the exiles; and not only did they adopt heathen customs, especially the despotism over servants (LVIII), but they also prepared a table for Gad, brought libations to Meni (LXV, 11), and joined the heathen processions (LXVI, 17). The younger generation did the same things as those which among the older had occasioned the exile. But there were also those who followed Jehovah's way instead of their own and mourned for Zion. They were hated, persecuted, and spurned. Their heathen brethren united with their Babylonian oppressors, and besides their internal sufferings the ill-treatment which they received from their own people did not stop short of prison and martyrdom. Under the form of a servant and the misery of the deepest humiliation this true church of Jehovah carried the salvation of their people and of the heathen upon their hearts. Israel's restoration and the conversion of the nations lay upon their hands, stood and fell with this church. Although they were killed in many of their members yet they were immortal, yea even in dying for Jehovah they proved that they lived. This *ecclesia pressa* of the exile is the עֶבֶד יהוָה in whom all Messianic, all theocratic expectations of the prophets in Is. XL—LXVI are united as the rays of light in a focus.

Remark. It must be admitted, that until the present time Gad and Meni have not been proved to be Babylonian gods, and in general the images of the heathen worship are not so fresh as one would expect from a prophet living among the exiles.

§ 54.

Threefold Nature of the Idea of Jehovah's Servant.

There is no Old Testament idea which is so wonderfully developed as this of the Servant of Jehovah. The lowest basis of the עֶבֶד יהוָה is entire Israel; its middle, internal basis is the church which is faithful to God in its dispersion, the scattered seed of the church of the future which shall grow together from Israel and the heathen; its pyramidal apex is the future Christ. Sometimes these three factors are combined together in this notion of the Servant, some-

times they are separated. At one time it is confined to its lowest basis, and is placed before Israel as a mirror of its unfaithfulness in comparison with Jehovah's faithfulness; at another time it rests on its middle basis, transported beyond the sad reality, and unfolds from itself the sweetest consolations; it then rises higher, becomes personal and prophesies of One, in whom Israel's calling as the people of salvation is completed, and in whom all the sufferings of the church of Jehovah culminate and are recapitulated. This conception through its wonderful elasticity is the source of a fulness of new spiritual cognitions, and these cognitions are not only united with Him, but grow from Him as their root.

§ 55.

Completeness of the Idea of Jehovah's Servant.

In the conception of the Servant of Jehovah (עֶבֶד יְהוָה) all forms and appearances which hitherto prefigured the salvation are blended together:

(1) the two series, one of which has for its watchword: "Jehovah comes", the other: "thy King comes". The consolatory book (Is. XL—LXVI) begins at once with the announcement of Jehovah's Parousia (Is. XL, 5). The joyous shout in view of His coming is (LXII, 11): "Behold thy salvation (יִשְׁעֲךָ) cometh". But Jehovah comes in His servant (L, 2, compare 4), who is called to be His Salvation unto the ends of the earth (XLIX, 6);

(2) the three chief stadia which serve to designate the future bearer of salvation, as seed of the woman, seed of the patriarchs, and seed of David. The idea of the Servant of Jehovah is the recapitulation (ἀνακεφαλαίωσις) of the main factors in all these, and points back even to the *proto-evangelium* (XLIX, 1; LXV, 25).

(3) the manifold official representations of the future Mediator of salvation. The Servant of Jehovah is such in a prophetic, priestly, and kingly manner;

(4) the personal types: He is through the threefold glory of his office the fulfilment of the prototypes Moses, Aaron and David;

(5) the type of the sacrifice. Every interpretation of sacrifice has hitherto been limited to its significance as an accompanying symbol of the internal desire for salvation, and of personal consecration. Psalmists and prophets have until now symbolically depreciated the sacrificial worship without deciphering it typically.

Now for the first time the type of sacrifice, which was previously dumb, begins to speak through the idea of the Servant of Jehovah. He pours out his soul in death, and his soul thus brings a satisfactory offering (אָשָׁם) which atones and makes reparation for the sins of the people. He takes the guilt of his people's sins upon himself. God willingly allows him to suffer and die for them, for his purpose was directed to the fruit of the passion. He causes His wrath to fall upon His Servant, in order that in him, His beloved, He may make His people a congregation of those who are justified and sanctified. The mystery of the animal sacrifices, which God allowed (נִתַּתִּיו Lev. XVII, 11) Israel in accommodation to the heathen forms of worship, finds its explanation here; and the desire of Israel in the exile which is turned towards the suspended ritual is here directed to Him who is the true realization of all sacrifice. The Servant of Jehovah dies and is buried, but not in order to remain in death, but that he may live eternally as the priestly and royal head of a great congregation.

Remark. We do not read in Gen. IV that God commanded sacrifice. Cain and Abel bring their offerings of their own accord. In this narrative it is significant that Cain takes the lead in presenting his sacrifice. The sacrifical ritual has everywhere arisen naturally from the individual peculiarities of the nations. It has proceeded on the one hand from the consciousness, that man is indebted to God for all that he is and has, and from the effort to make a grateful recognition of this feeling; on the other hand it has gone forth from the consciousness, that as he is in his present sinful condition he cannot be pleasing to God and cannot bring Him anything that is acceptable, until his sin has first been blotted out, that is, expiated before the holy God. The complete expression of this idea of sacrifice is the bloody offering, which includes the desire, that God will allow the soul (נֶפֶשׁ) of the animal to serve as an atonement for the sinful and death-deserving soul (נֶפֶשׁ) of man. But although the animal is innocent, yet its innocence has no moral value, and furthermore, which is most important, it suffers involuntarily. Hence the epistle to the Hebrews denies the expiatory character of the animal offering. It expiates not really but only symbolically, or rather typically, for God has allowed it to have this significance in view of the future offering on Golgotha. The expiatory power of Christ's sacrifice does not consist in His death, in itself considered, but in His determination to offer Himself for us. Hence that which has atoning power is precisely the element which is wanting in the animal sacrifice.

§ 56.

Important Results from the Idea of Jehovah's Servant.

The one-sided image of the king Messiah, which hitherto was only supplemented by the type of David, who reached the throne

through humility, is here set aside. The Servant of Jehovah goes through the humiliation of death and the grave to everlasting glory. Both states (*status humiliationis* and *exaltationis*) are clearly expressed and described. The connecting line between the prophet and king of the future is drawn. The Servant of Jehovah is not only mediator, but also herald of salvation. Furthermore the redemption of Israel as humanly mediated is now no longer merely a liberation from the yoke of the worldly power, and the enjoyment of victory and peace after a bloody struggle — Jehovah redeems his people, redeems the world in his Servant from all their sins; and the character of the redemption is conceived as a reconciliation, above all as a reconciliation between the divine justice and the divine love. Hence the notion of צֶדֶק and צְדָקָה in Is. XL—LXVI is closely related to יְשַׁע and יְשׁוּעָה (LI, 5; LVI, 1). And after the idea of the Messiah is immerged in the idea of Israel as the Servant of Jehovah and subsequently arises from it in personal form, there follows an entirely new and hitherto unheard of relation of the Redeemer to his church. He is even himself called Israel (XLIX, 3), for he is the head and the church his body (XLV, 14; XLIX, 23; LX, 14). If we consider moreover, that here in a dramatic manner, heretofore unparalleled, the Servant of Jehovah himself speaks, and that there are passages where we may be doubtful, whether the Servant of Jehovah *sensu eminentissimo*, or the prophets speaks, we here behold a unique spiritual labaratory: Jehovah is in His Servant, the Servant of Jehovah is the contents of the prophet's consciousness, the prophet lives and moves in the future One — a threefold immanence with an alternating περιχώρησις (mutual inhabitation), which renders the interpretation of this book a work which is never satisfactory, and which never comes to an end.

§ 57.

The Prince of Ezekiel's Republic.

We now contrast with the Deutero-Isaianic book of consolation the eschatological prophecies of Ezekiel, especially the last nine chapters of his book. After the great vision of Israel's resurrection (XXXII) and the prophecy of Magog's march against Israel, and the destruction of this northern army, — after two sections of an apocalyptic character follows, as the seventh book of the collection

dated fourteen years subsequent to the destruction of Jerusalem, a tableau of the divine service and the public life of restored Israel. Who, in this detailed picture of the final period, is the prince (נָשִׂיא), whom it presupposes? Far from being a high priest he is rather a layman. His relation to the priesthood and to the sanctuary is sharply defined, and his chief preeminence only consists in his being able to hold sacrificial meals in the hall of the east door, which remains shut after the glory (כָּבוֹד, δόξα) of Jehovah has passed through it into the temple. The sacrificial duties of the prince are exactly indicated and dynastic excesses are prevented through exact regulations. The successor of the prince is also the universal heir. The prince can make presents from his domain to his other sons, but only to his lawful heirs (Ezek. XLVI, 16). Presents which he gives to his servants fall to the crown in the year of jubilee (ver. 17). In all these details the prince is described as entirely human. Ezekiel foretells (XXXVII, 24; XXXIV, 23) that a second David will be the one Shepherd of the reunited Israel. and it is remarkable that his very last word is (XXIX, 21): "In that day will I cause a horn to bud for the house of Israel". — Is it not probable that this horn is the future Messiah? How then is the prince (נָשִׂיא), who although a particular member of the church (*membrum praecipuum ecclesiae*) is still a layman, related to the Messiah?

§ 58.

Ezekiel's unfulfilled Prophecy.

The correct solution of this and of other perplexing questions is found in the fact that this concluding vision of Ezekiel is an unfulfilled prophecy, because the condition of the fulfilment has not been realized. If the Israel of both kingdoms had returned with repentance and with the renewal of their first love from the lands of the exile, then their national and religious commonwealth would have been shaped as Ezekiel here sees it. But since this did not occur, there came meanwhile in the place of this ideal temple and state the spiritual house (οἶκος πνευματικός) of the church of Christ (Joh. II, 19) with its spiritual sacrifices (πνευματικαὶ θυσίαι Peter II, 5), which the new temple of Ezekiel foreshadowed, but did not allegorically symbolize. It is significant for the intermediate cha-

racter of this picture that the sublime form of the second David disappeared from the prophet in the midst of this vision. The picture is ecclesiastical and political, and we miss the Messianic consecration which we would like to read between the lines.

§ 59.

Tendency and Signification of Ezekiel's Tora.

We need not be surprised that the New Testament should prepare the way for itself in the Old, but that during the Old Testament period the Old Testament should be transformed into the New is in itself a contradictory throught. The offering which the Servant of Jehovah makes of himself on the one hand, and the offering of rams upon the altar of the new Jerusalem on the other in Deutero-Isaiah are a mutual contradiction which is not removed. The head of the prophet rises to Golgotha, where there is no more sacrifice, but his feet stand on Old Testament ground. This unreconcilable contradiction appears more prominent in Ezekiel than elsewhere because he is the most pictorial among the prophets. Nevertheless the New Testament Spirit announces itself within the bounds of the Old. Even in Is. LVI; LXVI, 21 we find promises which are contradictory to the Mosaic law. But Ezekiel prophesies like a second Moses, and promulgates a new Tora. In this respect his prophecy in the midst of the Old Testament is a testimony against the immutability of the Tora, and so to speak, is the shattering of its stone letters. But the renewal of the old has nevertheless its prophetic limits. The prophet does not mention any ark of the covenant in the new temple (Ezek. XLIII, 16). Instead of the cherubim made with hands are the living cherubs as the bearers of the divine glory, and in the holy place of the temple there is no table with shewbread and no golden candlestick, but only a plain wooden table instead of the golden altar (XLI, 22). In general the entire description has a tendency to simplification, which is a step towards the final abrogation of the splendor of the ancient worship and towards the worship of God in spirit and in truth. But Old Testament prophecy is by no means designed to transport us back to the forsaken standpoint of Judaism. In order that we may be able to retain its temporal and national descriptions as christian hopes, we need a spiritual transubstantiation, such as the history of salvation has itself secured. After the exile the prerequisites for the realization of Ezekiel's temple

found no place. Now since the realization of this temple was set aside in the progress of the history of salvation, and thus deprived of its literal externality, and since the stone temple at Jerusalem was forever abolished through the temple of Christ's body (John II, 19), we must regard our Lord's resurrection in a glorified body as at the same time the erection of a spiritual temple, namely his church, which is the essence of what was abolished in Solomon's temple, and which the prophecy of Ezekiel, deprived of its non-essentials (*subtractis subtrahendis*), prefigures.

§ 60.
Daniel.

In passing on to Daniel we take a step backward and at the same time forward; for on the one hand Daniel is named even in the book of Ezekiel as an example of righteousness (XIV, 14. 20) and of wisdom (XXVIII, 3), on the other the dates in the book of Daniel bring us down to the third year of Cyrus (555 B. C.), hence long after the time of Ezekiel. Daniel lived through the entire period of the exile. By reason of his fidelity to Jehovah he not only became a confessor and almost a martyr, but also arrived at great honor. He was a royal counsellor during three dynasties and had prophetic gifts without being officially a prophet. We have reason to expect that his political position and the universal view which he would have of history would be recognizable in the character of his prophecy, and since he stands over against heathen soothsayers and astrologers, we need not be surprised when his prophecy in the speciality of its contents resembles the heathen mantic. Nevertheless grave doubts exist about the composition of the book which bears his name in the time of the exile, and we are inclined to think that a man of God about the year 168 B. C. moulded the traditional Babylonian and Persian events, and the traditional prophecies of Daniel into a consolatory book for the contemporary church of confessors and martyrs of the time of Seleucidae. But the mystery of this book is not wholly solved through this assumption, and whenever it may have arisen, on account of its prophetic and especially its christological contents, it finds the most fitting place between Is. XL—LXVI and the post-exilic prophets.

Remark. See Delitzsch's article on Daniel in Herzog and Plitt's *Real-Encyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche,* vol. III, Leipzig 1878.

§ 61.

The Messianic People in Daniel's Visions.

In Daniel's interpretation of Nebuchadnezzar's dream concerning the image of the four monarchies (II) a stone that was not cut out with hands rolls upon the feet of the human image, which are partly of iron and partly of clay, breaks the entire colossus, and becomes a great mountain which fills the earth. What does this stone signify? It is according to Daniel's interpretation (II, 44) the imperishable kingdom of the final period, hence the Messianic kingdom, as also in Ps. CXVIII, 22 the stone is not in its primary signification the Messiah, but Israel as the Messianic people. We can recognize here the after-effect of the new turn which Messianic prophecy took in Is. XL—LXVI. Even Daniel beholds the Messiah and Israel as one, since he is the personal concentration of Israel. Israel is the stock, and the Messiah the top of the tree. Israel is the kingdom (מַלְכוּ) and he is the king Messiah (מַלְכָּא מְשִׁיחָא).

In the vision (VII) where he sees the world-empires as four great animals ascending out of the sea he beholds one like the son of man (ver. 13 כְּבַר אֱנָשׁ) brought before the Ancient of days, who gives him the everlasting dominion over all the earth. Even here the interpretation of ver. 18 does not expressly indicate the person of the Messiah, but the saints of the most High (קַדִּישֵׁי עֶלְיוֹנִין), hence the holy people of the future (Is. IV, 3) or the Messianic church. Nevertheless there is One whom Daniel beholds, both as superhuman, and as still a human being, and this One is doubtless the Christ, who (Mark. XIV, 62 and parallels) with reference to this vision of Daniel calls himself the Son of man (τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου). He is however what He is not for Himself alone, but for His church and together with it. But why does Daniel see Him as the Son of man? Sin rules in the world; although it does not distort men diabolically yet it does brutally. Therefore animals are emblems of the world-powers, but the one who overthrows the world-empire and who becomes an everlasting king of an everlasting kingdom is in contrast to the secularized, bestialized human race an ideal, holy man, who in such a superhuman and yet so human way brings the history of mankind to its ideal conclusion. Ezekiel beholds Jehovah as the "appearance of a man" (I, 26: כְּמַרְאֵה אָדָם),

Daniel beholds the coming ruler of the world. What a significant progress! The Messiah is David, He is in a transcendently antitypical character what David was; the Messiah is Israel (Is. XLIX, 3), He is in a completed subjectivity what Israel shall be; the Messiah is the Son of man, he is in a perfectly realized ideality what the human race, according to God's decree, is destined to become.

Remark. The name "Son of man", which the Lord gives himself, certainly does not stand disconnected from Dan. VII, 13, but the ruler of the world is not called there the Son of man, but the seer beholds him as a son of man! Moreover בַּר־אֱנָשׁ was never a name of the Messiah in the Synagogue, and that the notion of the Messiah and of the son of man are not identical, appears from Matt. XVI, 13—16. The Lord calls himself Son of man (1) as the man of humiliation, in whom all the sufferings of mankind are concentrated, and in whom the history of mankind finds its deepest significance. We see this e. g. from Matt. VIII, 20 the first passage in the gospel where the Lord gives Himself this name. (2) As the man of glory, in whom the grandeur of mankind culminates, which was lost by sin, but was regained by Him, in whom therefore human history ascends from the lowest depth to the loftiest height, from the depth of sin and bondage of death to the height of righteousness, victory, and eternal life. In this sense the Lord says e. g. that God has given Him authority to execute judgment, because He is the Son of man (Joh. V, 27). He is on the one hand the Son of man, as the seed of the woman, who suffers the sting in the heel from the serpent, and on the other who conquers, although He falls in the conflict, by crushing the head of the serpent.

§ 62.

The Mystery of the Seventy Weeks.

In the vision of the seventy weeks (IX) we see the Messianic prophecy in Daniel, likewise standing on a Deutero-Isaianic ground, still farther developed. We do not urge, that here according to a probable interpretation מָשִׁיחַ is the high priest Onias III (murdered 176 B. C.), נָגִיד the Graeco-Roman sovereign of the world, and מָשִׁיחַ נָגִיד Christ the high priest and king in one person, but we simply call attention to the description of the future salvation (ver. 24):

"Seventy weeks are determined upon thy people and upon thy holy city to put a stop to wickedness, and to cause sins to cease, and to atone for transgression, and to bring about an everlasting righteousness, and to seal [namely through fulfilment] vision and prophecy, and to anoint a holy sanctuary."

The goal of the Old Testament hope is here so spiritually conceived with the definiteness of a theological formula, is expressed

so entirely after the manner of the apostolic proclamation, and the hope of redemption, reconciliation, and justification is brought in such close connection with the Messianic hope, that we even here see the seed of the new knowledge, which was scattered in Is. XL—LXVI spring up. From this time forward the faith, which has arrived at an understanding of prophecy, not only awaits the Lion of the tribe of Judah, but also the sacrificial Lamb; not only a new covenant but also a mediator between God and man; not only a reconciliation with God, but also a human reconciler.

Remark. Auberlen's (*Der Prophet Daniel und die Offenbarung Johannis*, Ed. II. Basel, 1857) view that the seventy weeks are to be reckoned from 457 B. C. the time of Ezra's return to Jerusalem until 33 A. D. the time of Stephen's martyrdom and the transition of christianity to the heathen rests upon the untenable traditional view, that 26ª refers to the death of Christ. Our version renders the passage in the same manner: "And after threescore and two weeks shall Messiah be out off, but not for himself", see Keils commentary on the history of the interpretation of this passage.

CHAPTER XIII.

Messianic Predictions of the post-exilic Prophets.

§ 63.

The Restoration.

As now after the first years of Cyrus' monarchy (536 B. C.) the people again gathered from a foreign country in their own native land, it soon appeared, that prophecy has not only something divine (θεῖον), but also something human (ἀνθρώπινον), for the prophet is not merely a man of God, who beholds the ultimate future as it is, but also a human child, who sees it nearer than it is. This long-sightedness which is made possible through the Spirit serves the divine plan of salvation as well as the short-sightedness with which it is admixed. It is entirely in God's order, that the prophets of the exile should behold the final glory in close connection with the end of the exile, and that those who returned hoped to experience that glory. They could base this hope upon the fact that Babylon had fallen under the circumstances prophesied, and that God had moved the heart of Cyrus to release Israel voluntarily and honorably; and it was not contrary to this hope that not the entire people, but only a part returned (שְׁאָר יָשׁוּב the remnant will convert). Therefore the psalms of the period of the restoration are full of enthusiasm, of glory, and of triumph. The author of Ps. CXVIII, which was probably sung at the first feast of tabernacles in Jerusalem, when an altar was first erected on the holy place, exults (ver. 22, 23):

"The stone which the builders rejected is become the head stone of the corner. This was from Jehovah; it is marvellous in our eyes." — The people of God cast aside by the heathen as useless and now miraculously elevated from deep humiliation has by this means become conscious of as great an importance among the nations, as the corner stone has among the stones of a building. But it was soon evident, that Israel would only be this through hope

in Him by whom the world-career of Israel should be completely realized (Mat. XXI, 41—44; Acts IV, 11, compare Is. XXVIII, 16; Rom. IX, 33; 1 Peter II, 6).

Even under Cyrus the people were prohibited from continuing to build the temple. The interdict continued under Cambyses (529—522 B. C.) and Pseudo-Smerdis (522—521 B. C.) But in the second year of Darius Hystaspis (520 B. C.) through the stimulus of the prophets Haggai and Zechariah the building in spite of the interdict was again resumed, and then was approved and favored from Ecbatana.

§ 64.

Haggai's Prophecy concerning the Glory of the Second Temple.

The book of Haggai contains four addresses from the second year of Darius Hystaspis (520 B. C.). The peculiar call of the prophet in the continuation of the Messianic proclamation is conspicuous in the second and fourth addresses. It was given him to prophecy that the fulfilment of salvation was connected with the second temple. In II, 6—9 the prophet reports the oracle of Jehovah Zebaoth:

"Yet once, it is a little while, and I shake the heavens, and the earth, and the sea, and the dry land." — Once already the God of Israel overthrew Babylon and so broke open the prison of Israel, without securing the entire freedom of His people; yet once again amid mighty natural phenomena He will shake the nations of the world. From this convulsion the Temple will become the sacred centre, and from it the freedom of the world and of Israel as a free people will proceed. —

"And I will shake all nations and the precious things of all nations shall come, and I will fill this house with glory, saith Jehovah Zebaoth." — The shaking is an act of judicial wrath, but at the same time also of awakening grace, which moves all the heathen to bring the precious things, which they possess (חֶמְדַּת כָּל־הַגּוֹיִם) as a consecrated offering to the God of Israel. The temple now rises under miserable circumstances, but He whose house it is, is the Absolute ruler who knows how to provide for the adornment of his Sanctuary:

"Mine is the silver, and mine is the gold saith Jehovah Zebaoth. Greater shall be the glory of this latter house than of the former

[that of Solomon], saith Jehovah Zebaoth, and in this place will I give peace, saith Jehovah Zebaoth." — The last temple is not contrasted with the first, but the more than Solomonic glory with that of Solomon. God will grant peace in this place. This temple shall be the source and the bond of peace for the nations. This prophecy has been fulfilled in so far as Jerusalem, is the point from which the religion of reconciliation, of the love of man, and so of peace has gone forth.

§ 65.

Zerubbabel as the Continuation of the Messianic Line.

The last of the four addresses of Haggai crowns Zerubbabel the Jewish governor of Judea under Persia with the promise (II, 21. 23): "I will shake the heavens and the earth, and I will overthrow the throne of kingdoms.... In that day, saith Jehovah Zebaoth, will I take thee, O Zerubbabel son of Shealtiel my servant, saith Jehovah, and will put thee on as a signet, for I have chosen thee, saith Jehovah Zebaoth." — It was secondly, Haggai's peculiar calling to prophesy that the dominion of the house of David over the world should be connected with the family of Zerubbabel. The line of Jehoiachin, whom Jeremiah contemptuously calls כָּנְיָהוּ, was rejected (Jer. XXII, 24), but in Zerubbabel the Davidic kingdom blooms anew. The promise, given to him, is the counter-part of Jehovah's dreadful threat: "I will pluck thee up (אֶתְקָךְ)."

Remark. See Delitzsch' article "*Die zweifache Genealogie des Messias*" in the *Zeitschrift für die gesammte lutherische Theologie und Kirche*, Leipzig 1860, p. 460—485 where it is shown, that even in the Jewish literature the Messiah is traced back on the one hand to Solomon, the son of David, and on the other to Nathan, the son of David (compare "the house of Nathan", Zech. XII. 12).

§ 66.

The two Parts of Zechariah.

Zechariah's activity began in the second year of Darius. According to Neh. XII he occupied the position of the head of a family under the high priest Jehoiakim which his grand-father Iddo had held under the high priest Joshua. At the time indicated in chapter II, 4 when he beholds the following vision he is still

young. We must neither confound him with the martyr Zechariah the son of Jehoiada (2 Chron. XXIV, 20—22), nor with Zechariah the son of Jeberechia (Is. VIII, 2). If chapters IX—XIV of Zechariah are an older work which does not belong to the post-exilic Zechariah, we may conjecture that his older colleague, who has the same name, participated in it. The book of Zechariah is really divided into two parts. The first half (I—VIII) has grown entirely out of the circumstances of the second and fourth years of Darius, in the second half however pre-exilic conditions and occurrences seem to be mirrored, especially such as are closely connected with the Syrian and Ephraimitic war. But there cannot be any doubt that the first portion of the book which is partly oratorical and partly visionary belongs to the post-exilic Zechariah.

§ 67.

Zechariah's Prediction concerning the Future Zemach.

The fourth of Zechariah's night visions (III) is a judicial scene. The angel of Jehovah is the judge. Before him stands Joshua, the high priest, drawn thither to judgment by Satan, who, conscious of his power, stands at his right hand. But his accusation is without effect. Joshua is confirmed by the angel of Jehovah in his office with promises. The first (III, 7) assures him of a free admittance to the beings before God's throne; and the second is as follows (ver. 8):

"Hear now Joshua, the high priest, thou and thy fellows that sit before thee, for they are typical men [אַנְשֵׁי מוֹפֵת הֵמָּה], for behold I will bring my Servant, Zemach." — Joshua and the subordinate priests are indicated as אַנְשֵׁי מוֹפֵת *viri prodigii*, that is, men of typical signification (מוֹפֵת from the verb רָפַת = אָפַת cogn. הָפַךְ *invertere*, *res inversa*, *paradoxa*, *aenigmatica*). It is the coming of the Zemach, which they prepare, prefigure, and assure. The name which appears as an appellative in Is. IV, 2 has become here still more than in Jer. XXIII, 5 and XXXIII, 15 a proper name of the Messiah. He is thus named as the Sprout of David, who grows from humility to glory, and who spreads about himself holiness and splendor. The consequence of the Parousia of the Zemach is announced in ver. 9, as the removal of the guilt of the land in one day. The Zemach is not made the mediator of this blotting out of sin,

but he appears as the gift of God's grace, which radically removes the sins of Israel, similarly as in Dan. IX.

§ 68.

The two Crowns.

By reason of an historical event (VI, 10 etc.) the prophecy concerning Zemach is repeated with greater elaboration. Three Babylonian exiles come with a gift of silver and gold to Jerusalem. The prophet is to receive it and to set the crowns (עֲטָרוֹת) made from it upon the head of Joshua the high priest, probably a silver crown as the sign of the high priest, and a golden one as the sign of the king, in order to be a type of the future One, who in one person will be a bearer of the double crown (ver. 12):

"Behold a man whose name is Zemach, from his ground he will sprout [that is from the native ground of the Holy Land, compare Is. IV, 2^b where he is called פְּרִי הָאֲדָמָה] and will build the temple of Jehovah." Since in IV, 9 the promise is given to Zerubbabel that his hands shall finish building the temple, another temple must be here intended. Again it is said with יהוא in order to distinguish Zemach from Zerubbabel (ver. 13):

"And he (והוא) shall build the temple of Jehovah [hence the temple of the final period which is indicated in 2 Sam. VII, 13], and he shall bear the glory, and shall sit and rule upon his throne, and shall be a priest upon his throne, and a treaty of peace shall be between them both", — namely between the priest and king, since in his person priest and king are united together by a covenant of peace. The lyrical prophecy in Ps. CX is here prophetically continued. The Messiah unites both offices as another Melchizedek.

§ 69.

The Climax of the Promise in Zech. VIII.

In the answer which the prophet Zechariah gives the Bethlehemites who come to question him respecting the memorial days of mourning (Zech. VII—VIII) the promises rises in chapter VIII through ten intervals or degrees higher and higher. The person of

the Messiah is not indeed taken into account, but the Messianic period is described all the more gloriously. The prophet here paraphrases, so to speak, Micah's and Isaiah's prophecies (Mic. IV, 2; Is. II, 3). The nations are seized with a powerful desire to go to Jerusalem. Through repentance confession and prayer they prepare the way to the church of Jehovah. They press towards it and wish to be taken into the communion of Israel (ver. 23):

"Thus saith Jehovah Zebaoth; In those days it shall come to pass, that ten men from all tongues of the nations shall take hold of the skirt of a Jewish man, saying: Let us go with you, for we have heard that God is with you." — The Israel of the final period is intended, in whose restoration Jehovah will make Himself known as the God of the world's history and of prophecy, — the believing Israel of the New Testament era.

§ 70.

The two Burdens in Zech. IX—XI, XII—XIV.

We now turn to the second part of the book of Zechariah, of which chapters IX—XI are assigned by modern critics to a prophet in the time of Uzziah (compare 2 Chron. XXVI, 5). Chapters XII—XIV on the contrary are attributed to a prophet from the period shortly before the Chaldean catastrophe (Is. VIII, 2). It is certain that chapters I—VIII and IX—XIV do not fit immediately together. In chapters I—VIII the post-exilic age stands all the while before us. In chapters IX—XIV on the contrary only two things are posible: either everything has sprung from a pre-exilic situation, or we are surrounded with apocalyptic mysteries in emblematic images, which are taken from pre-exilic circumstances. In chapters I—VIII the language is never contrary to that of a later period, in chapters IX—XIV it many be compared with the language of a Joel and an Amos. The two halves resemble each other only in this respect, that both have regard to Israel as well as to Judah; that in both the person of the Messiah stands in a central position, and that in chapter XI as well as in VI, 9 etc. a symbolical act is assigned to the prophet. We hold that IX—XIV is an apocalypse by the post-exilic Zechariah. That which is apparently pre-exilic is to be judged in the same way as that which apparently belongs to the Assyrian period in the apocalypse Is. XXIV—XXVII.

§ 71.

The suffering King.

The first oracle (IX—XI) begins with the prophecy respecting judgments which are to fall upon the nations round about Judah. During the visitation of these judgments Zion (Jerusalem) is not only protected, but becomes the seat of a royal throne which rules the world (IX, 9).

"Rejoice greatly, daughter of Zion, shout, daughter of Jerusalem, behold thy king comes to thee, he is just and saved, afflicted and riding upon an ass, and upon a colt, a foal of she-asses." — It is here worthy of note and is more favorable for the post-exilic than the pre-exilic composition that the royal glory rises upon the dark ground of suffering. The coming king is צַדִּיק and נוֹשָׁע a righteous one whom God has helped out of tribulation and struggle to salvation and victory; hence he is also called עָנִי, that is, bowed, pressed down through sorrow. We still see him as the sufferer. His lowliness is not yet transformed into pure and full glory. Therefore he does not come loftily on a noble steed or in a grand coach of state like the kings of this world, but upon a peaceful animal; not upon one belonging to another, but upon a colt which has never been ridden (compare Matth. XXI, 2), for he is the king of humble mind, of tender heart, and whose final object is peace (ver. 10):

"And I will cut off the chariot from Ephraim, and the horse from Jerusalem, and the bow of war shall be cut off, and he speaks peace to the nations." — This prediction of the end of the war harmonizes with Ps. XLVI, 10, Micah and Isaiah; and the closing thought, that the king as Solomon's antitype will rule the world with his word as the sceptre of peace is clothed in language from Ps. LXXII, 8.

Remark. The Niphal participle נוֹשָׁע cannot signify "having salvation"; the meaning is passive and נוֹשָׁע bears the same relation to נִגְזָר as *salvatus* to *adjutus*. The king is a righteous one, who has passed through the school of suffering and who through passion has attained dominion. Yet in the history of the fulfilment the entrance and reception of Christ as king is only a transient prelude.

§ 72.

The good Shepherd with the two Staves.

The proclamation of the catastrophe in XI, 1—3, taken literally, extends no farther than the domain of the northern kingdom, and it is true that the twofold symbolical act described in XI, 4—14

15 etc. appears to present characteristics of the time before the Syrian and Ephraimitic war, as well as before the depopulation and dissolution of the kingdom of Israel through the Assyrian ruler. But if the author is a prophet of the Persian period the world-empire stands before his vision in its Grecian form (compare X, 5 with IX, 13), and the catastrophe (XI, 1—3) is the one which falls upon the Holy Land from the Grecian world-empire, of which the Roman forms the background (compare the vision of the four chariots VI, 1—8). The thought which controls the next symbolical act is, that the people of God falls under the power of internal and external tyranny, because it has not the right kind of shepherds since it deserts the true shepherds. The prophet is comanded to take the herd of slaughter under his charge, which is butchered and treated tyrannically by its possessors. A period of anarchy, of despotism, of destructiveness breaks out and the poor herd needs more than ever a faithful shepherd. The prophet accomplishes the commission. The symbolic act receives through this means a visionary character. The prophet becomes the image of a future One. He tends the herd of slaughter and at the same time those who are suffering among the herd, that is, he devotes special attention to the poor and the unfortunate. He tends them with two staves the one called "grace" (נֹעַם), and the other "bands" (חֹבְלִים XI, 7), and frees the people from three shepherds in a single month. These three shepherds are the three leading classes: prophets, priests and princes, as was recognized by Ephrem (d. about 373 A. D.), Theodoret (d. 457 A. D.) and Cyril (d. 444 A. D.). The term וָאַכְחִד is not to be understood so much of the destruction of persons, as of a destruction which ends their activity as office-bearers. The Christ, whose representative the prophet here is, enters upon his threefold office as shepherd by making room for himself through the deposition of the three kinds of bad shepherds. But since the benefit which he thus bestows upon his people does not receive its deserved recognition, he becomes weary of his office. After they compel him to break the staff called grace he seeks to lead them to a declaration which will show, whether they will terminate the relation to him or not (XI, 12):

"And I said unto them, If it be good in your eyes, give me my reward, and if not forbear — then they paid me as my reward thirty pieces of silver," — an insultingly small recompence for his service which reminds us of the valuation of a slave (Ex. XXI, 23). Then Jehovah spoke to the shepherd (ver. 13):

"Cast it unto the potter, the valuable price that I was prized at of them! — Then I took the thirty pieces of silver, and cast them to the potter in the house of Jehovah." — The meaning is that he shall throw it to the potter in order that it may fall into the clay which he purifies by treading (Is. XLI, 25). It is thus indicated that Israel from whom this paltry sum comes needs a transformation, and we are also furnished with a clew to the citation in the New Testament, where the thirty pieces of silver returned by Judas were used for the purchase of the potter's field, that is of one which furnished clay. At the same time it is apparent how the memory of the one citing the passage (Matt. XXVII, 9 etc.) could wander off to Jeremiah (XVIII, 4). But the fact that the shepherd throws the paltry sum into the clay in the house of Jehovah is designed to indicate that he casts away the pieces of silver in God's presence, who will call His unthankful people to account. Hereupon the good shepherd breaks the staff of bands. The people become disunited: the different attitudes of the Jewish people to the good shepherd who appeared in Jesus has really torn it asunder internally, and made an end of its national independence for about two thousand years.

Remark. Zion and Javan (Greece) in IX, 13 are contrasted as the kingdom of God and the kingdom of this world. Greece was really for a prophet of the Persian period the next great monarchy of the future, and in X, 5 the riders on horses signify the Greeks, which through the war with the Persians learned the value of cavalry; under Alexander the Great they numbered a sixth of the army.

§ 73.

The foolish Shepherd.

The other half of the symbolical act (XI, 15 etc.) represents the prophet as putting on the clothes of a foolish shepherd, whom Jehovah at length terribly destroys. If the good shepherd is an image of the future Christ, the foolish shepherd is the counterpart of Christ, that is, the ἄνομος, in whom the apostasy from Christ culminates (2 Thess. II, 8, compare Is. XI, 4: וְהִכָּה־אֶרֶץ בְּשֵׁבֶט פִּיהוּ וּבְרוּחַ שְׂפָתָיו יָמִית רָשָׁע). A heathen ruler is not meant, but one proceeding from the people, which has the name of the people of God. The closing words are as follows (ver. 17):

"Woe to the idol shepherd, who forsakes the flock. Sword upon

his arm and upon his right eye. His arm shall be entirely dried up and his right eye shall be utterly extinguished." — The apostolic predictions of the antichrist's destruction (2 Thess. II, 8; Rev. XIX, 11 etc.) take on another form. The form here corresponds to the prediction of the second oracle (IX—XI; XII—XIV) in shocking images.

Remark. It appears that the phrase רֹעִי חֲאֶלִיל should be explained according to Job. XIII, 4. It signifies a shepherd, whose character and activity stands in the same relation to the ideal of a shepherd as no to yes. The ending î of רֹעִי as of יְזִבִי is *Chirek compaginis*, see the introduction Delitzsch's Commentary to Ps. CXIII.

§ 74.

The Conversion of unbelieving Judah.

The beginning of the second oracle like that of the first reminds us of an older prophet. The first oracle commences like the round of judgments in Amos upon the nations, and the second like the judgment of the nations in the valley of Jehoshaphat, as described by Joel. We find in the twelfth chapter, where the prophet describes the universal conflict of the nations against Jehovah, and mentions even Judah among the enemies which are encamped against Jerusalem — a thought which never occurs elsewhere among the prophets. It is exclusively in Zechariah that the partition of Israel rises to such an eschatological image. But while Judah thus makes common cause with the world which is hostile to Christ, through God's grace at the very summit of his enmity, like Paul before Damascus, he comes to himself. Judah, now inwardly changed does all in his power to raise the siege against Jerusalem. The knowledge which has dawned upon him is light, and this light becomes fire, the knowledge becomes an energy which destroys everything that is opposed to it. Judah has encamped on the side of the world, but through God's grace is brought around, and is released from the bands of the hostile world sooner than God's church itself. The church of God, which to a great extent owes its preservation to converted Judah, will go forth from this danger of destruction more glorious than ever (XII, 8):

"In that day shall Jehovah defend the inhabitants of Israel, and he that stumbles among them at that day shall be like David, and the house of David like Elohim, like the angel of Jehovah before them." — We here encounter the same representation

as that which is presupposed by the final vision in Ezekiel. Israel in the future, will again be a state under Davidic princes and each of the inhabitants of Jerusalem will be provided according to their need and their calling with supernatural strength, but on the contrary as ver. 9 affirms in the gathering of the nations against Jerusalem God accomplishes the divine decree in their destruction.

§ 75.

The Pierced One.

In XII, 10 the prophet establishes what he presupposes in ver. 5—8, that there will be a Jerusalem true to God and beloved by Him at a time when Judah will still be among His enemies (ver. 10):

"And I will pour upon the house of David, and upon the inhabitants of Jerusalem the spirit of grace and of supplication [for grace]." — No mention is made here or hereafter of Judah. The house of David by synecdoche of the part for the whole (*partis pro toto*) takes the place of that which Paul (Rom. IX, 25 etc.) calls all Israel. The word תַּחֲנוּנִים also occurs in Jeremiah's predictions of the restoration of Israel (Jer. III, 25; XXXI, 9). The change in the relation to the God of salvation, which the prophet after the example of Joel (III, 1) and Deutero-Isaiah (XLIV, 3) indicates as the effect of an out-pouring of the Holy Spirit, is at the same time a change with respect to the Mediator of salvation:

"And they shall look upon me whom they have pierced, and they shall mourn for him like the mourning for his only son, and weep bitterly for him, as one weeps bitterly for his first-born." — The reading אֵלַי instead of אֵלָיו is confirmed by the Septuagint, the Peschitto, the Targum and Jerome, on the contrary the New Testament cites the passage in an abbreviated form (Joh. XIX, 37; Rev. I, 7). The Septuagint translatates: ἐπιβλέψονται πρὸς μὲ ἀνθ' ὧν κατωρχήσαντο, which presupposes the reading רָקְדוּ instead of דָּקָרוּ, but to dance signifying to insult (Hesychius, Suidas, Phavorinus: κατωρχήσαντο κατεχάρησαν, ἔπαιξαν, ἐνέπαιξαν, Jerome: *pro eo quod insultaverunt*) is impossible in this connection, and likewise it is improbable in the signification of going away (Targ.) Jerome in his independent translation interprets correctly: *adspicient ad me quem confixerunt.* Although we should naturally expect אֵלַי

אֲשֶׁר instead of אֵלַי אֵת אֲשֶׁר, yet that could signify *in me*, *qui*, whereas on the contrary אֵלַי אֵת אֲשֶׁר was chosen as an unequivocal expression for *in me quem* (compare Jer. XXXVIII, 9). The idea which is conveyed when Jehovah here indicates Himself as the pierced One, pierced namely in the good Shepherd, extends incomparably farther than that which is usually expressed concerning the inhabitation of Jehovah in His angel, or of Jehovah in His Prophet. It is the utmost individualization of the phrase Is. LXIII, 9: בְּכָל־צָרָתָם לוֹ צָר. It presupposes an unique mutual immanence of Jehovah and His Shepherd or His Servant who is also called a pierced One Is. LIII, 5. The prophet next proceeds in the description of the final repentance of his people (ver. 11):

"In that day shall there be a great mourning in Jerusalem, as the mourning of Hadadrimmon in the valley of Megiddon" —, that is, as in that place a great and deep mourning of the people was heard when it was known that the much beloved king Josiah had been mortally wounded (2 Chron. XXXV, 25). The prophet then describes how all ranks of the people are seized with repentant sorrow, and break out in lamentation (vs. 12—14):

"And the land shall mourn, every family apart; the family of the house of David apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Nathan apart, and their wives apart; the family of the house of Levi apart, and their wives apart; the family of Shimei apart, and their wives apart — all the families that remain, every family apart, and their wives apart." The unusual specification of the women is intended to show that the matter is not merely of a national character, in which the men alone are concerned, but that it is personal in which both duties and privileges are alike for man and wife. Moreover it is a national mourning like that for Josiah. It extends from Jerusalem and the house of David throughout the entire land. Hence the family of David stands at the head, with which that of Nathan is coordinated (2 Sam. V, 14), and then is followed by the priestly family of Levi, with which the family of Shimei (Num. III, 21) is reckoned. In both cases the chief and the side lines are classed together in order to indicate the families in their full extent. Finally the enumeration ends with the mention of all families which will still remain at that time of Israel's great repentance. It will be the remnant (שְׁאָר) of the people which is penetrated through judgment; not the mass, but the remnant will recognize in the pierced One their Saviour.

And while the Spirit from above compels the Jewish people to feel the pain of repentance, nevertheless they need not despair because of the consciousness of their guilt (XIII, 1):

"In that day there shall be a fountain opened to the house of David and to the inhabitants of Jerusalem for sin and uncleanness." — Here also the house of David and Jerusalem represent the entire people, and here also sin and forgiveness are placed in the closest connection with the pierced One, so that there is only a step to Heb. X, 22 etc.; 1 John I, 7, compare V, 6.

§ 76.

The Shepherd's Death and the scattering of the Flock.

The prophecy in XIII, 7 after the analogy of these two oracles (מַשָּׂא) recedes and transports itself to the time of the fateful murder and its direful consequences:

"Sword, awake against my Shepherd, and against the man of my fellowship, saith Jehovah Zebaoth. Smite the Shepherd, so that the sheep may be scattered: and I will turn my hand to the little ones." — Jehovah Himself summons the sword, for all the sins of men serve even against their will the plan of God, and exactly in this judicial murder God fulfills His counsel (Is. LIII, 5 and 10). There arises for the mass of the people in connection with this capital crime deserved misfortune. The consequence of the Shepherd's death is the scattering of the flock, but there are some from whom God's grace does not turn away, little ones (צְעֲרִים), that is, those who are meanly esteemed by themselves and others, whose opinion is not that of the mass. The New Testament references (Matt. XXVI, 31 etc., Mark XIV, 27) are so far fully justified, as they apply these utterances to Jesus Christ, to His death and its consequences. The verses 8—9 are a sketch of the final stadia of Israel's history resembling that in Is. VI, 11—13.

§ 77.

Recapitulation of the Christological Predictions in Zech. II.

In the two oracles (מַשָּׂא) of the second part of the book of Zechariah there are, as we have found, in each two christological prophecies: in chapters IX—XI the prediction of the entrance of

the King into Jerusalem with the air of a sufferer, and of the Shepherd who received a contemptuous reward. These two prophecies are a *hysteron-proteron*, for first the future One consumes Himself in work for His people, He is then exalted to a kingdom which rules the world — and in chapters XII—XIV the prophecy of remorseful recognition by the Jewish people of their capital crime on the pierced God-man, and on the Shepherd beloved of God, upon whom Jehovah's sword falls; even these two prophecies move from the more remote to the nearer, for the lamentation because of the murdered One precedes the bloody deed, which they will confess as their greatest national sin, God's surrender of Him and this surrender of Himself, which they will recognize as the source of their salvation. After the great predictions of the passion in the second part of Isaiah such special disclosures respecting the sufferings and death of Christ need not surprise us. They cannot be explained on natural principles. It is enough that it was then God's chosen time to reveal them. There is a great difference between properly prophetic addresses, which were delivered more or less as they are written, and such apocalyptic disclosures which remain sealed until the time of fulfilment.

§ 78.

The Completion of the Theocracy.

Zechariah, beginning with XIII, 8, describes the period of judgment which will purge away their dross, and the glory which will then break forth. The nations besiege Jerusalem. An earthquake which cleaves the mount of Olives helps the inhabitants to flee. It will be a day without a parallel, — a nocturnal day, but at evening time it will be light. Jerusalem will then be a source of living water. The three descriptions, Zech. XIV, 8; Ezek. XLVII, 1; Joel IV, 18 through their deviations from each other show that this eschatological picture of the living waters flowing from Jerusalem must not be understood literally. The prophet is transported to the period of the completed kingdom of God (XIV, 9): "And Jehovah shall be King over all the earth; in that day shall Jehovah be one, and His name one." The goal of redemptive history is nowhere more deeply, clearly, and pregnantly expressed in the Old Testament. The theocracy at length breaks through the existing barriers of the nation, and becomes in the entire earth a

reality and a truth. This thought is also the solution of the theocratic psalms, which like Ps. XCIII begin with יְהוָה מָלָךְ "the Lord has taken the kingdom" (*deus regnum capessivit*). The above prediction of the prophet coincides with Joh. X, 16: "There shall be one fold, one shepherd (μία ποίμνη, εἷς ποιμήν). Jehovah will be one, since in the consciousness and worship of the nations He has judged the false gods through the exhibition of His power and grace, and His name is one, since the names of the idols will be no more remembered (XIII, 2), and His name alone will be called on in prayer, and proclaimed in preaching.

§ 79.

Universal Holiness.

When Jehovah, as thus described, shall have become one and His name one, Jerusalem will be throughout a holy city, in which nothing will be found which is not consecrated to God and hallowed by Him (XIV, 20):

"In that day there shall be upon the bells of the horses, **Holiness unto Jehovah!** and the pots in Jehovah's house shall be like the sacrificial bowls before the altar." — The most common things will then be so hallowed that the inscription upon the plate of the high priest's holy crown (Ex. XXVIII, 36) shall now stand upon the bells of the horses, and the former gradation in sanctity shall disappear to such an extent, that the pots in which the sacrificial flesh shall be boiled will be just as holy as the vessels, in which the priests catch the atoning blood that they may sprinkle it before the Lord. The prophet adds (ver. 21):

"And every pot in Jerusalem and in Judah shall be holiness to Jehovah Zebaoth, and all they that come to sacrifice shall take from them and shall boil in them, and there shall no longer be a Canaanite in the house of Jehovah Zebaoth in that day", that is there shall be no more temple-servants like the Gibeonites (Josh. IX, 27, compare Zech. XLVI, 4—8). The difference of rank in the service and in the relation to God has ceased. All is serviceable to God, and that which is serviceable to God is, without distinction, holy. The prophet thus describes in images and words, with which his age furnishes him the final glory of this world and the future glory of the next, which follows the final redemption. He beholds the final period of this world, and the next world in one vision.

§ 80.

Malachi's Prediction concerning the Heathen.

Zechariah prophesied under Darius Hystaspis (521—486 B. C.), Malachi under Artaxerxes Longimanus (464—424 B. C.) or his successor Darius Nothus (423—404 B. C.). The public evils, against which he directs his censure, are those which were found by Nehemiah in his second residence at Jerusalem. His censure in I, 6—II, 9 concerns the priests. Jehovah had no pleasure in the priests of that post-exilic time. He was not willing to accept the meat offering which they brought to Him (I, 11):

"For from the rising of the sun even to its going down, great is my name among the heathen, and in every place incense is offered to my name, a pure meat-offering, for great is my name among the heathen saith Jehovah Zebaoth." — The present tense does not refer to the actual time of the writer, but to the future which appears to his prophetic eye as present, and Keil is right, when he here finds the thought, that the kingdom of God will be taken from the Jews and given to the heathen. The form which this thought takes is significant in two aspects:

(1) the sacrificial ritual appears to be confined to the vegetable sacrifice (compare Is. LXVI, 20).

(2) the connection of the divine service with Jerusalem seems here to be dissolved. — The phrase בְּכָל־מָקוֹם harmonizes with the reply which Jesus gives in answer to the Samaritan woman (Joh. IV, 23), although the thought is clothed in a way which we might expect in the Old Testament.

Rem. 1. If we apply the words of the prophet (I, 11) to the present (as e. g. Köhler) the thought is expressed that the heathen everywhere, although unconsciously, worship the God who revealed Himself in Israel, but this idea extends far beyond Acts XVII, 23, is contradictory to Rom. I, 25, and is without a parallel in the Old Testament (compare on the contrary Ps. IX, 18; XXII, 28). Both participles have the value of active present tenses with an indefinite subject, as מְדֻבָּר "It is said", like "they say" Ps. LXXXVII, 3. See Ewald, *Ausführliches Lehrbuch der Hebräischen Sprache*, Göttingen 1870, § 295a. The ו before וּמִנְחָה is an explicative, "and indeed" Ewald § 340b.

Rem. 2. The passages which Wellhausen, *Geschichte Israels*, Berlin 1878, p. 64 quotes for מִנְחָה in the universal signification of offering need to be sifted. In Is. I, 13; I, 10 etc. and everywhere in this prophet מִנְחָה signifies the "meat offering". It does not include all oblations, not even in Num. XVI, 15, excepting Gen. IV, 3—5; 1 Sam. II, 17 (but not II, 29) and XXVI, 19.

Rem. 3. As a result of the modern theory concerning the origin of the Pentateuch the prophet Joel is considered post-exilic, since in his book Jerusalem appears as the centre of a worship which corresponds to that laid down in the so-called priestly codex. Duhm, *Die Theologie der Propheten*, Bonn 1875, p. 276, calls him in the frivolous manner which has now become the fashion, *einen Epigonen, der mit grossen Formtalent begabt und von Gedanken nicht viel geplagt ist*, "an *epigon* (one late born), who has a great talent for the form, but is not overburdened with thoughts". Merx also in *Die Prophetie der Joel und ihre Ausleger*, Halle 1879, maintains that Joel lived after the execution of Nehemiah's reforms. We hold that all the reasons which are assigned for this position are invalid. Obadiah, Joel and Amos are *trilologically* united through their relation to the sad misfortune which befell Judah under Joram (2 Chron. XXI, 16. 17), and which became the real beginning of a Jewish diaspora. Obadiah is cited by Joel III, 5[a], and Joel himself is one of the נְבִיאִים קַדְמוֹנִים (ancient prophets) which are referred to in Ezek. XXXVIII, 17.

§ 81.

The Angel of the Covenant.

The prophet rebukes another cancerous affection of the people, from II, 17 to the end of his book. In connection with the blasphemous utterance of those who in the present allotment of events, fail to perceive the holiness and justice of God he prophesies the appearance of Jehovah in judgment, who will reveal the difference between the godless and the godly and who will introduce a new period (III, 1):

"Behold, I send my angel and he prepares the way before me, and the Lord whom ye seek will suddenly come to His temple, and the angel of the covenant for whom ye long, behold, he comes, saith Jehovah Zebaoth." In both cases although the word מַלְאָךְ does not designate one belonging to the order of real angels, yet it indicates a heavenly messenger sent by God. The angel of Jehovah, who prepares the way for the coming One, is according to II, 23 etc. Elijah, the prophet. Suddenly, that is immediately following His messenger, the Lord (הָאָדוֹן which is the name of God Himself) will come. But in what relation does מַלְאַךְ הַבְּרִית stand to הָאָדוֹן? The parallelism does not demand the identity of both, but only the immanence of the Lord in the angel. As ver. 1[a] refers back to Is. XL, 3—5, so the designation מַלְאַךְ הַבְּרִית may be compared with Is. XLII, 6; XLIX, 8, where it is said of the Servant of Jehovah that He will make him a covenant of the people (לִבְרִית עָם). Moreover this designation refers to

Gen. XVI, where the angel of Jehovah after the establishment of the covenant with Abram first appears to the exiled Hagar in order to secure the farther accomplishment of the covenanted promises. If we combine these fundamental passages, we find that מַלְאַךְ הַבְּרִית is the name of the expected mediator of a new covenant, and that he is called the angel of the covenant, because in him the heavenly messenger, that is attained which the *angelophanies* of the primitive period prefigured and prepared. But nothing is said farther of the work of this mediator, for the future Christ, in the Old Testament prophecy, never had such an independent position beside Jehovah as to prevent him from always standing in the background in comparison with Him. The unbelieving pessimists of that period wish for the day of Jehovah, and therewith the angel of the covenant, without knowing what they desire. The Lord comes, and a messenger, who summons to repentance, prepares the way for Him. He comes in the angel of the covenant, He comes to His temple. What a visitation in the present decline of the priests and laity! He comes to establish a new covenant, because Israel has broken the old one and through this covenant has not become such a church as God desires (Jer. XXXI, 32).

§ 82.

The final Restoration.

A new order of things is accomplished through judgment. The day of Jehovah has two sides, one worthy of the longing which is felt for it, and one which is terrible for those summoning it (III, 2):

"And who can endure the day of His coming, and who can stand when He appears, for He is like a refiner's fire and like fuller's soap." This image of the refiner is retained in ver. 3. The refining pertains particularly to the children of Levi, hence to the priestly tribe. When this shall have been winnowed and cleansed then they shall be according to vs. 3^{b}, 4:

"[Such] as offer meat offerings unto Jehovah in righteousness. And the offering of Judah and Jerusalem shall be pleasant to Jehovah as in the days of old, and as in the former years." — Malachi in his constant designation of the sacrifice as מִנְחָה (II, 12. 13, compare I, 10. 11. 13) betrays a certain opposition to animal sacrifices. When in ver. 4 the glorious future appears to him

to be essentially equivalent to a restoration (ἀποκατάστασις) of the glorious past (Is. I, 26), yet the angel of the covenant in ver. 1 indicates a new covenant and hence the re-establishment of the commonwealth of Israel not only in the old form, but in one which will be new and glorified.

§ 83.

The future Elijah.

In III, 19 Malachi resumes the announcement of the day of Jehovah which he began with הִנֵּה (III, 1), and it is characteristic, that in ver. 22 in connection with the prophecy of the day of Jehovah he says:

"Remember the law of Moses, my servant, whom I commanded in Horeb statutes and judgments for all Israel." — The verb צִוָּה is construed here as in Ex. XXV, 22 with the accusative of the person and of the thing. The חֻקִּים וּמִשְׁפָּטִים are the contents of the Thora as νόμος ἐντολῶν (Eph. II, 15). The prophet then returns to the messenger, who according to III, 1 prepares the way for the coming of the Lord (vs. 23, 24):

"Behold, I send you Elijah, the prophet before the coming of the great and terrible day of Jehovah, and he shall turn the heart of the fathers to the children, and the heart of the children to their fathers, lest I come and smite the earth with a curse". — The prophet doubtless thinks of Elijah who together with Moses appeared with Jesus upon the mount of transfiguration. But in the fulfilment Elijah is only another Elijah, as Christ is another David, a powerful preacher of repentance, who causes, that the ancestors of Israel should agree with the children, and the children with their ancestors. The estrangement will cease, which now exists between the church of the old, better time and that of the present (compare the paraphrase in Luke I, 17).

Remark. The termination of Malachi is so dreadful, that the Synagogue repeats the twenty-third verse after the twenty-fourth, but the Septuagint transposes the twenty-second verse (μνήσθητε νόμου Μωσῆ κτλ.) to the end.

§ 84.

Wisdom as an Objective Existence.

Malachi is the last voice of the Old Testament prophecy, and Coheleth of the Old Testament Chokma. Even the Chokma in the

midst of the religion of the Ancient Covenant has to a certain extent prepared the way for christianity, since it stripped off the Israelitish husk from that which concerns man as such, and the external enactments of the Tora from God's will which pertains to mankind. Besides in its doctrine concerning the divine wisdom the Chokma prepared the way for the knowledge of the Logos and of the incarnation; for the fundamental idea of the Chokma-literature is that of wisdom itself. Wisdom appears even in the old proverbs of Solomon as in itself an existence in contradistinction to a subjective opinion (Prov. XXVIII, 26). In the introductory discourses (I, 7—IX) an objectivity is assigned to it, which in its existence even approaches personality. She appears as a preacher and presents to all men life and death. She pours out upon those who do not reject it her spirit (I, 23). She receives and hears prayers (I, 28). She was with God even before the creation, as His primeval child possessing royal dignity (VIII, 22—26). She was his chief worker (VIII, 27—29, compare III, 19). She remained even after the creation His beloved, and daily pursued her delightful employment before Him, especially upon the earth, where man is her favorite (VIII, 30 etc.). — The author of Prov. I, 7—IX here stands upon Job XXVIII, but raises himself to the conception of wisdom as the world-idea, and even almost to the conception of wisdom as a hypostasis, which as such has the world-idea in itself and is the medium of its creative and spiritual realization.

Remark. The utterances of Wisdom in Prov. I—IX come remarkably into contact with those of Jesus, especially in the fourth gospel, e. g. Prov. VIII, 35. 36, compare Joh. VIII, 51; and what is said in Joh. I, 1 coincides essentially with the testimony of Wisdom respecting herself (Prov. VIII, 22—23. 30):

"Jehovah brought me forth as the firstling of His way, as the earliest of His works of old. From everlasting I was set up, from the commencement after the primitive beginnings of the earth."

§ 85.

Agur's Enigma.

Even the comparison of Wisdom as equivalent to God's Son is consummated in the book of Proverbs (XXX, 4):

"Who hath ascended up into heaven, and descended? who hath gathered the wind in his fists? who hath bound the waters in a cloth? who hath established all the ends of the earth? what is his name, and what is his son's name if thou knowest?" — The

interrogator means by God's Son, the world-forming porwer which has gone forth from God and which is servicable to Him, the same which in chapter VIII is called wisdom, and is described as God's dear child. He might know God the creator of the world, and His Son the mediator of its creation in their being, but who could name them? The being of the Godhead transcends human knowledge! While Schultz, *Alttestamentliche Theologie*, Frankfort on-the-Main 1878, p. 513 holds that the question: "And who is His Son?" is to be understood as a proverb, Ewald acknowledges, *Die Lehre der Bibel von Gott*, Leipzig 1871—1876, vol. III, p. 82, that here the doctrine of the Logos as the first begotten and only Son (πρωτότοκος and μονογενής) is proclaimed. Wisdom and Word (λόγος) are mutually immanent ideas where we have to do with the medial cause (*causa media*) of the world's creation.

Remark. A remarkable parallel to Prov. XXX, 4 is found in *Rigveda*, Book I, Hymn 164, 4, where according to Haug's translation (*Sitzungsberichte der bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*, München 1875, vol. II) we read: "Who has seen the first-born? who saw that one without a body bears one with a body? who was probably the life, blood, and soul of the earth? who went to the wise One to ascertain it."

§ 86.

The Wisdom in the Sophia of Solomon.

We need not be surprized to find that the development of this idea of Wisdom and the Logos is continued in the Palestinian Apochrypha and Targums, but especially in the Alexandrian book of Wisdom (VII—IX). Wisdom is here called a breath (ἀτμίς) from God's strength, a pure effluence (ἀπόῤῥοια) from the glory (δόξα) of the Almighty, a reflection (ἀπαύγασμα) of the eternal Light (VII, 25), a sharer (πάρεδρος) of God's throne (IX, 4), as taking part in the creation of the world (IX, 9, compare VIII, 3—4). The author prays to her (IX, 10 etc.), as omniscient, as the right leader and guide.

Remark. The book of Wisdom (Σοφία Σαλωμών) was composed before the time of Philo. We do not yet find in it the representation of the Logos as an intermediate being between God and the world. The word is personified in XVIII, 15 etc., but not differently than in Ps. CVII, 20.

§ 87.

Philo's Logos.

The real founder of the doctrine of the Logos is Philo. It grew up in his writings from biblical roots, but not without the influence of Platonism and especially of the Stoa (compare Heinze, *Lehre vom Logos in der griechischen Philosophie*, Oldenburg 1872). Philo may be reckoned, to a certain extent, as belonging to the period before christianity was founded, for when he came to Rome at the head of an embassy of Alexandrian Jews which were sent to Caligula (40 A. D.) he was an old man (γέρων), so that he must have been born about 20 B. C. We need not be surprised that his doctrine of the Logos finds an echo in John's and Paul's writings. The divine origin of christianity is not thereby lessened. Christianity not only realized the Spirit of the Old Testament revelation, but also manifested itself as the transfiguration and consecration of the elements of truth and the Hellenistic forms which were commonly employed for its expression. Philo's Logos is hypostatic, or as Zeller says, is suspended midway between personal and impersonal being. It is by no means a mere personification. He is God's son. He becomes a shepherd, leader, teacher, physician of the soul, but the thought of an incarnation of the Logos is absolutely incomprehensible for Philo. Matter and Godhead are for him such sharply contrasted antithises, not only physically, but also ethically, that he would be compelled to reject the thought of a union of both. Moreover in his system the Messiah occupies a very subordinate position, hence the Messianic hope is a heterogeneous matter of secondary importance.

Remark. All the promises requisite to John's conception: "The word became flesh" (I, 14 ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο) are wanting in Philo; for (1) he lacks the insight into the fact of the fall and into the necessity of a divinely wrought redemption; (2) according to his doctrine man as man is sinful and the body as such is a source of evil; (3) the idea of the Logos and of the Messiah are never blended in his writings, not even when he refers ἀνατολή (Zech. VI, 12) to the Logos. Once Philo expresses exactly the opposite of ὁ λόγος σὰρξ ἐγένετο in the book entitled: *Quis rerum divinarum haeres*, 487, ed. Mangey: τὸ πρὸς θεὸν οὐ κατέβη πρὸς ἡμᾶς, οὐδὲ ἦλθεν εἰς σωματικὰς ἀνάγκας, "That which was with God neither descended to us, nor came into bodily necessities", compare his book *de profugis* 415: ὁ ὑπεράνω πάντων λόγος εἰς ἡμετέραν οὐκ ἦλθεν ἰδέαν ἅτε μηδενὶ τῶν αἰσθητῶν ἐμφερὴς ὤν; "The Logos who is exalted over all has not entered our form, since he has nothing to do with the things of sense". Philo is the precursor of New Testament cognitions, without anticipating them, since he lacked, as we have observed the necessary premises.

§ 88.

The Machabean Insurrection and the Messianic hope.

The Messiah in Philo is a king, through whom earthly relations are revolutionized for the better. But he is not, as a divine mediator, the originator of a radical, and above all, of a spiritual transformation. In general the Messianic hope, after the last prophetic voices, seems to die away and does not assume the spiritual character which was rendered possible, but becomes external, so that when the Messiah appeared in Jesus, the unspiritual character of this hope rendered the mass of the people incapable of recognizing in Him the promised One, and made it uncommonly difficult even for those who believed in Him to be reconciled to the manner of His appearance and working, without being scandalized by it. The reform, instituted by Ezra and Nehemiah sought to make the Mosaic law the ruling power of the people's life. This effort was crowned with unparalleled success. But the result was, that the spirit of the law involved in its letter was lost, and that prophecy as the authentic interpretation of this spirit was neglected. The elevation of the Machabees contributed to increase this ceremonial character of Judaism. It is indeed true that, if the Jewish people had not then preserved their national and religious independence, Messianic prophecy would have lost the basis for its realization. But since the struggle pertained to the external fulfilment of the law, and centered in circumcision and laws concerning food and worship, it brought with it the danger of considering these externals as of chief importance. It is characteristic, that even under Jonathan (160—143 B. C.), the youngest brother of Judas Machabaeus, the contrast between Phariseeism and Sadduceeism arose (Josephus, *Antiquitates* XIII, 5. 9), and that at the time of John Hyrcanus I (135—105 B. C.) it had already invaded the history of the people. The Saducees were the antitraditional, Hellenizing, aristocratic party; the Pharisees were the democratic party of legally minute observances, and of the national religion, who had the merit of maintaining the independence of Judaism, although by a lifeless system of ceremonials. It was also unfavorable for the maintenance of the Messianic hope in its purity, that now for the first time a priestly family stood at the head of the state and that the people out of gratitude appointed Simon, the elder brother of Jonathan, as high priest and prince forever (ἡγούμενον καὶ

ἀρχιερέα εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα 1 Mach. XIV, 41), "until a reliable prophet should arise and give other information" (140 B. C.). The first union of both offices, which has even misled christian interpreters, so that they have regarded it as the historical foundation of Ps. CX (Hitzig, Olshausen), was an untimely anticipation which encroached on the redemptive fulfilment of the prophecy. And since under John Hyrcanus the Jewish people experienced a time of freedom, of prosperity, and of an extension of territory, such as had not been enjoyed since the time of David and Solomon, the consciousness of its spiritual calling to the entire world fell into the background before its political self-consciousness, and as after Hyrcanus the star of the Hasmonean dynasty gradually went down in tyranny and fratricidal war, and was outshone by Antipater and his son Herod, an adherent of Rome, the people then hoped for scarcely anything more in the Messiah than a king who would likewise liberate it with iron weapons from the Roman yoke as the Machabees had freed it from that of the Seleucidae.

Remark. The relation of the Pharisees to the Sadducees has been made clear by Wellhausen (*Die Pharisäer und die Sadducäer. Eine Untersuchung zur inneren jüdischen Geschichte*, Greifswald 1874), following the precedent of Abraham Geiger (d. 1874). Compare Schürer's review of this treatise in *Jenaer Literaturzeitung*, 1878, No. 28.

§ 89.

The popular Literature and the Messianic Hope.

We now possess for the most part, and in consequence of new discoveries, written memorials of Judaism, of a lyric, midrashic and apocalyptic character, which variously confirm the fact, that in the time of the Machabees and later in that of the Herods the future Messiah belonged to the contents of the national belief and hope. The Sibylline Oracles proclaim (Book III, ver. 652—794) a divinely sent king, who after Israel has been revenged on the heathen, and these have become subject to the law of God, raises an eternal kingdom of peace among mankind. In the book of Enoch (XC, 37—38) the Messiah appears under the image of a white bullock, for white is the color of the theocratic line. All the heathen pray to him and are converted to the Lord God. In Solomon's Psalter, of which Ps. XVII is the most pregnant and beautiful acknowledgement of the Messiah in the time of the Machabees, the Messiah is

expected as a righteous, divinely instructed, and sinless king, who unites Israel and the heathen under his peaceful sceptre:

"Blessed are they who will be borne in those days to see the happiness of Israel in the reunion of the tribes, which God will create." — Even a younger portion of the Sibylline Oracles (III, 36—92) announces the future of a holy ruler, who in the time which is hastening on will bring the entire earth under his sceptre.

§ 90.

The Recession of the Messianic Hope.

On the other hand however we find in the Apocalypse of the Alexandrian Codex the acknowledgement of an everlasting kingdom, which was promised to the house of David (compare Sirach XLVII, 11; 1 Mach. II, 57), but the person of the second David is nowhere mentioned. Even the *Assumptio Mosis*, which arose about the commencement of the christian era, prophesies indeed the beginning of a divine kingdom which will be realized among all creatures, and from which the devil and all pain will be banished, but without the Messiah. And the book of Jubilees indulges in descriptions of the everlasting glory, but the ruler is the church of the Servant of God, and entire silence is preserved with reference to the Messiah. This is not surprising, for the dominant representation of the Messiah was not in accordance with every one's taste. The Messiah was thought to be merely a king sent by God, who through bloody conflict should prepare the way for everlasting peace. The time of the Machabees threw the hope of the Messiah back to the one-sided image of the king, as it appears in the stadium before Deutero-Isaiah, Zechariah, and Malachi. Nor is it otherwise in Philo, although his doctrine of the Logos contains thoughts, which, blended with the image of the Messiah, were fitted to breathe into it a new life.

Remark. We leave out of account here: (1) the apocalypse of Baruch, published by Ceriani in Latin 1866, and in Syriac 1871, it is later than the Roman catastrophe; (2) the fourth book of Ezra, the most widely circulated of all the Jewish apocalypses; it was probably not written before the time of Domitian; (3) the *Ascensio Isaiae*, issued in Ethiopic by Dillmann 1877, and in Latin by Oscar von Gebhardt in Hilgenfeld's *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*, Leipzig, vol. XXI, 3. Its character is Jewish-Christian and it has the physiognomy of the second century after Christ.

Conclusion.

The development of the Messianic idea after the conclusion of the canon remains, as we have seen, far behind that which precedes in the time of the Old Testament prophecy. It affords no progress, but rather a regress. Only Alexandrianism contains thoughts in which the active leaven *(fermenta cognitionis)* of the Old Testament literature continues to work; but they come far short of the apostolic thoughts, for the New Testament fulfilment extends far beyond the Old Testament preparation, and performs that which had not entered into any human heart. Hence Paul (Rom. XVI, 25) calls that which has been revealed in the history of fulfilment (Rom. XVI, 25): "a mystery which has been kept secret during everlasting ages" (μυστήριον χρόνοις αἰωνίοις σεσιγημένον) and (Eph. III, 5 compare ver. 9) which remained unknown in the earlier generations, and was a secret concealed in God from the *eons* (ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων). Even Old Testament prophecy, therefore, appears to the apostles compared with the actual revelation in the New as a deep silence.

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